NATIVE AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FORMATION OF THE MODERN CONSERVATION ETHIC

By

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of English/American Studies

1982

ABSTRACT

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The contemporary literature on Native Americans does not recognize the enormous contributions that Native American spirituality/philosophy have had on the formation of the modern conservation ethic. The popular image of the Native American as conservator is rejected as "myth," and in many instances Native peoples are scapegoated as exploiters of natural resources and peoples who lack an ethical relationship to the land. In reality though, Native peoples have had an enormous influence on the establishment of modern conservation practices and these strategies are an outgrowth of Native American relations with the earth, their mother.

The Native American land ethic and perception of the earth strongly influenced the conservation movement in North America and assisted in the formation of scouting organizations, camping, and outdoor activities. This is clearly supported by the involvement of George Bird Grinnell, Ernest Thompson Seton, Charles Alexander Eastman, and

Hamlin Garland with Native peoples and their subsequent dissemination of Native American ideals.

The extensive writings of these men had a major impact on the course of American conservation and popular perceptions of the environment. This is substantiated by the environmental movements that followed the precedents of these men, and the acknowledged role of Native American philosophy in the formation of modern conservationist thought. An examination of the outdoor literature, including the outdoor magazines and popular publications, confirms the important role of Native American contributions to the development of the conservation ethic. The scope and magnitude of these contributions is clear when an examination of popular environmental movements is undertaken. This study examines the role and dissemination of Native American philosophy which influenced diverse conservation movements and the American perception of the environment, and is a response to the historical literature which has not recognized this impact.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my children, Waseya, Kiwedin, and Akikwe and to the memory of my grandparents, George and Ruth Tibbetts, who were both educated in federal Indian schools. Their patience, understanding, and most of all, their respect for the environment provided the impetus for my interests and this dissertation. This work represents the continuity of their beliefs which will shape my children's future.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the assistance and support of those people who have made this dissertation a reality. Dr. Victor Howard, the chairman of my graduate committee, has encouraged my professional growth and provided an unrestricted atmosphere in which to pursue personal interests and research. For this I am extremely grateful. He has also encouraged this dissertation as an outgrowth of the American Studies Program, and assisted me at every impasse.

Dr. Russel B. Nye, also a committee member, has had a major impact on my academic growth. His concern for students and dedication to teaching profoundly influenced this dissertation. He has assisted with this project at every turn, and his insights and suggestions, as well as his encouragement, are deeply appreciated.

Dr. Richard White, who also served on my graduate committee, has conveyed to me in course work and readings, the enormous complexity of Native American history. His familiarity with the literature and his willingness to work with students has significantly affected my scholastic training. His close reading of this dissertation and his support during this process have insured a competency in Native American Studies.

Dr. John Humins, another committee member, has been an influence on my academic growth since my undergraduate years. As a teacher, he originally provided much of my educational background in Native American studies, and he has always demonstrated the highest degree of effectiveness and dedication in the classroom. His interest in and work on behalf of my educational growth will always be appreciated.

Dr. Jack Bain, for whom I have worked for many years, has assisted me at every turn of my educational career. He has encouraged my interests in Native American studies, and allowed me to gain extensive teaching experience at MSU. His trust in my abilities and his personal support are largely responsible for the completion of this dissertation.

I would also like to thank the Center for the History of the American Indian, The Newberry Library, for assisting and supporting this dissertation. The D'Arcy McNickle Memorial Fellowship that I received from that organization enabled me to complete much of the research for this dissertation. I would like to thank David Reed Miller, the Associate Director of the Center for his support and personal interest in my work. He assisted in the preparation of this dissertation by freely sharing his work on Charles Alexander Eastman, and he went out of his way to make me feel at home in Chicago. I would also like to thank Cal Fastwolf, who is also affiliated with the Center, for his support and hospitality while in Chicago. John Aubry,

the curator of special collections at the Newberry, also assisted in the preparation of this dissertation. His knowledge of the applicable sources and suggestions regarding the literature used in this dissertation enhanced my research efforts. I would also like to thank the staff of the Center for the History of the American Indian for making my stay at the Newberry so productive and enjoyable.

I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Mrs. Donna McCune who typed the copy of this dissertation for the graduate committee. Her support and encouragement were extremely helpful.

Finally, I would like to thank Deborah Ball Cornell, my wife, for putting up with the hardships of completing a dissertation with three small children in our family. Her support in caring for our children while I worked at the Newberry in Chicago, and her unfailing belief in the completion of this dissertation, were in reality the primary reasons and motivators for finishing this work. For her support and vote of confidence I will be eternally grateful.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Native American philosophy was one of the major factors which shaped the contemporary conservation ethic. The "outdoor" ethic in this country was the outgrowth of historical contacts with Native Peoples. Over time, this acknowledged tie to American Indians was severed and the conservation ethic was attributed to the diversification of western thought, and to the transcendental writers. At the present time, the relationship of Native Americans to the formation of the conservation ethic lies buried in archival records and obscure publications. The scope of these documents is enormous, and they have not been systematically pieced together to portray the influence of Native Americans upon the diverse segments of American and Canadian society which would be responsible for the dissemination of the conservation ethic.

Native American philosophy is a very broad concept that is closely linked with a spiritual view of the world. It is impossible to separate philosophy/spirituality when discussing American Indian peoples, since these concepts represent a world view and a behavioral response of Native Americans. Personal behaviors were the actualization of

spiritual tenets and dictates. This interaction was the basis of Native American ecological patterns and perceptions of the environment. The diverse groups of Native Americans who inhabited the North American continent had differing perceptions of the environment, but certain generalizations can be accurately stated. The Earth was perceived as a femine figure, a mother, and it was from her that all life came. Animals, were viewed as participants which shared in the bounty provided by the Earth. These animals were to be utilized and respected, but a balance or harmony must be preserved, for all things in the creation were sacred. This doctrine of sustained utilization, which insured the future and well being of the people, was at the very core of Native American philosophy/spirituality.

Native Americans have always stated that "religion" in American Indian societies was the primary reason for the continuity of the respective groups. The philosophical ties to the land, sky, water and living beings provided the basis for a spiritual relationship with the environment. The generic "man" was perceived by Native peoples as only one part of the creation, and man was not permitted to dominate the other beings who were a part of the "sacred circle." Native American values and beliefs, as they related to the endless cycle of life, were the most important determiners of personal behavior and intra-group relations. The various spiritual orientations of Native peoples were the backbone of Native societies.

Much of the past historical and descriptive scholarship that has been conducted with Native peoples as the subject, has not been focused on the crucial role of Native American philosophy. A.F.C. Wallace, Robert Berkhofer, P. Richard Metcalf, Adrian Tanner[1] and others, have in recent years placed Native peoples firmly in the middle of Indian-White relations. This emphasis on Native peoples, which negates some of the effects of paternalistic scholarship, is a strong beginning for developing an understanding of what Native peoples thought at a particular point in time, and how these thoughts motivated group actions. There are numerous "bits and pieces" of philosophical insights that can be gleaned from the literature, but these fragments have not been reconstructed to present a coherent record of the role and impact of Native American philosophy on contemporary twentieth century life. Native American spirituality/philosophy has had a tremendous influence on the formation of the "modern" conservation ethic, yet they have been virtually ignored for their contribution to the growth of this movement.

One of the crucial events which assisted the dissemination of Native American philosophy was the "passing of the great west" and the impact of the Industrial Revolution. The advent of major urban areas, combined with the sweeping changes that were witnessed in the American west during the 1870's and 1880's, ushered in conservationist thought. The last decades of the nineteenth century were a testament

to man's ability to manipulate and overutilize the natural environment. The decimation of the American bison, passenger pigeon, and other game species bore testimony to man's insensitivity to natural beings and processes. These actions, lamented the Lakota holyman Black Elk, caused the "scared hoop" to be broken. The salvage of the sacred hoop would be the rise of conservationist thought, which would be strongly rooted in Native philosophy.

The last decades of the nineteenth century produced many of the most influential individuals who would shape the modern outdoor ethic. George Bird Grinnell, Ernest Thompson Seton, John Muir, Charles Alexander Eastman, Hamlin Garland, James Willard Schultz, Archie Belaney (Grey Owl), and others came to the forefront in the ecological or back to nature movement. The majority of these men were not Native Americans, the exception being Eastman, who was a Santee Sioux. For the most part, these men were the products of western institutions, and many of them were well educated. What they all had in common, though, was extensive contact with Native peoples, and this interaction was to have an enormous effect on their views toward nature.

George Bird Grinnell was the founder of the Audubon Society and the co-founder of the Boone and Crockett Club. The Boone and Crockett Club is the recording organization for North American big game trophies that are killed with firearms, and it was one of the first major conservation

groups in the United States. John Muir would found the Sierra Club, and Archie Belaney (Grey Owl) would lead a one man crusade to save the beaver from extinction in Canada. Ernest Thompson Seton would form "Seton's Indians," which as an organization was the forerunner to the Boy Scouts of America. Seton would be installed as the B.S.A.'s "Chief Scout" in 1910. Charles Alexander Eastman would begin to write about the merits of traditional Indian life in 1902, and Hamlin Garland would draw substantial information from Native themes for his novel, The Captain of the Grey Horse Troop. Garland and Eastman would also work together to "rename" the Sioux (Lakota) people via a project that was ordered to be undertaken by Theodore Roosevelt in 1902. James Willard Schultz would write about his life as an "Indian" and his works would ahve an impact on the perception of the American Indian as conservationist.

All of these figures, but in particular Seton, Grinnell, Eastman and Garland, became staunch advocates on behalf of the American Indian. Their contact with Native Americans reinforced their views about the natural world, and American Indian philosophy would play a major role in these men forming a land or conservation ethic. The dissemination of Native American philosophy would follow many avenues of expression.

Seton, a renowned naturalist, would incorporate "seeing with a Native eye" techniques into his outdoor writings. George Bird Grinnell would become a "chief" among the

Northern Cheyenne, and one of their finest ethnographers. Eastman would continue his introspective writings on the subjective Native American which would culminate in deep philosophical insights with the publication of From the Deep Woods to Civilization in 1916. Garland continued to be an advocate of the American Indian and published his Book of the American Indian in 1923. The impact of Native peoples and indigenous philosophy helped to shape the outdoor ethic that these men would disseminate. These individuals constitute the core of the dissemination movement, but there were also other dissemination efforts.

George Bird Grinnell was the editor of Forest and Stream for a period of over twenty years, and the outdoor magazine became one of the major vehicles for the dissemination of Native American philosophy. The Boy Scouts of America and the Y.M.C.A. both became involved in the camping movement which began shortly after the turn of the twentieth century. The popular articles that appeared in Boys Life and other youth oriented magazines in the early 1900's also conveyed some tenets of Native American philosophy to young outdoor enthusiasts. The role of Ishi, the Yana tribesman who was "discovered" in Northern California in 1911, and his association with Dr. Saxton Pope and Art Young, popularized bow hunting in this country. This is another concrete tie to the impact of Native American philosophy upon the rapidly growing outdoor movement.

The contribution of the Native American to the formation of the contemporary outdoor ethic has never been fully explored. Very few texts even allude to the tie between Native philosophy and the contemporary perception of the environment and animal populations. I refer in particular to Henry Nash Smith's, Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth. This important work, published in 1950, only refers to Native peoples in contrast to American heroic figures like Kit Carson. The Native American is never depicted as a "real" entity. They are invisible beings to Smith, and they are presented as having no influence on the conceptual west. Smith describes the west as, "the vacant continent beyond the frontier." This is a serious distortion of the viability of Native American peoples and their role in creating and bolstering environmental thought in this nation and abroad. Smith's perceptions of the Native American have been continued to the present day. If the west isn't described as vacant, as it was in Ronald Reagan's summation at the conclusion of the Carter-Reagan debates, it is described in the romatic terms presented by the transcendentalist writers. Henry David Thoreau has been identified as the major figure in the creation of the pastoral view of the natural environment as it relates to the contemporary outdoor ethic. Many historians, when discussing the nature movements in this country, begin with an examination of Thoreau's ideas, and his influence upon individuals like John Muir. Aldo Leopold

is often identified as the heir apparent to the transcendental (Thoreau, Muir) tradition. Roderick Nash, in his Wilderness and the American Mind, is a proponent of the Thoreau, Muir, Leopold school. He relegates Grinnell and Seton, as well as other individuals, to a very minor position in regard to the formation of an outdoor ethic and a popular conception of the environment.

This dissertation will be a response to the distorted role and underestimation of Native Americans in the formation of the outdoor ethic.

Native Americans are often treated, literally, as artifacts of history. They were encountered, conquered, quarantined and assimilated. This tradition of focusing on the historical past, and on the impact of cultural contact has a valued place in the literature, but this approach often invalidates the responses of Native peoples and negates the subjective aspects of American Indian cultures which are so difficult to capture and record. Native peoples have not been totally assimilated into the mainstream of American society. As a matter of fact, numerous contemporary concerns of Native peoples result in perpetuated differences between Native American groups and "mainstream" society.

The recent wave of litigation involving Native peoples and state and federal governments, most of which centers on fishing rights or land reclamation efforts, attests to the fact that not only are Native peoples perceived as being

"different" in terms of their legal relationships; they are being singled out for committing alleged acts of environmental depradation. Contemporarily, Native peoples are popularly presented in newspapers as despoilers and exploiters of the natural environment. This is hardly the status of an assimilated group.

Native Americans have been presented in the media in a very unfavorable light in recent years as an outgrowth of the litigation that has centered on resource utilization. Headlines that read: "Grand Salmon to die in Nets?",[2] which presented Native American fishermen as potential exploiters of a resource which they didn't even pursue in Michigan waters (salmon), have captured the attention of many outdoor enthusiasts. Many subscribers to these papers have come to believe that Native Americans are environmental culprits bent on profiteering and the destruction of natural resources. This reaction by the readership of the popular press has not fostered the cause of assimilation, but rather widened the cultural gap between the "opponents" on these issues. Indians have been portrayed as the evil influence that lurks behind every rock, awaiting unwary game for easy exploitation. This image is more than reminiscent of the depiction of Native Americans in the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century image of the Native American was significantly influenced by the publication of James Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales. Cooper's novels

presented individual Indians as noble savages, but characterized groups of Native Americans as untrustworthy and capable of heinious crimes against the frontier. This latter image was formalized by Robert Montgomery Bird in Nick of the Woods.[3] Bird is primarily responsible for perpetuating the "rape and pillage" depiction of Native peoples in American literature.

> Instead of Deerslayer, Nature's forest nobleman, Bird created Nathan Slaughter, or "Bloody Nathan," who spent his life murdering Indians, tracking them down with his dog Peter, who could smell a savage a half-mile away. A brutal, bitter book, Nick of the Woods went through twenty-four American editions and six abroad; turned into a play in 1838, it remained a popular melodrama for years. Bird's picture of the Indian in what he called "his natural barbaric state, as barbarian," provided the model for the dime novel treatment of the Indian a generation later. Bird's book was the first extended popular treatment of "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" theme. To Bird, the conflict of red and white civilization was irreconcilable.[4]

Instead of wagon trains and white women, contemporary Native Americans are envisioned as "attacking" sand dunes, timber stands, mineral deposits and the fish and game resources of the continent.

The popular image of the Native American as exploiter is totally incongrous with another popular image of the American Indian: conservator and ecologist. In recent years, the tear-streaked face of Iron Eyes Cody has appeared on television and on environmental posters. The degradation of the environment is reversible, or so we are told, if the advice and wisdom of the Native American is heeded. This popular image of the American Indian as

conservator has been attacked by the newspapers, and by scholars. At the heart of this discussion is the incongruity between what Native peoples were, in reality, and what they have come to be presented as in the popular and elite literature. How do a people that have stated and restated their sacred perceptions of the environment become stereotyped as "exploiters" of the land, or pigeon-holed as the whiteman's ecologist? An examination of what Native American philosophy/spirituality encompasses will act as a beginning point to clarify the issue at hand.

FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

[1]See A.F.C. Wallace. The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca. New York: Vintage Books, 1972. Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. "The Political Context of a New Indian History," Pacific Historical Review, XL, August, 1971. P. Richard Metcalf. "Who Should Rule at Home? Native American Politics and Indian-White Relations," Journal of American History, LXI, December, 1974. Adrian Tanner. Bringing Home Animals. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979.

[2]Frank Mainville. Lansing State Journal, Sunday, April 27, 1980.

[3]Robert Montgomery Bird. Nick of the Woods. New York: American Book Company, 1939.

[4]Russel B. Nye. The Unembarrassed Muse: The Popular Arts in America. New York: The Dial Press, 1970, p. 284.

CHAPTER II

NATIVE AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF THE ENVIRONMENT

The term Native American refers to an enormously diverse population that resided on the North American continent for thousands of years before contact with Europeans. There were well over 2,000 culturally distinct and autonomous groups of indigenous peoples habitating in North America in the pre-Columbian era.[1] This is well substantiated by the fact that these groups of people spoke over 550 different languages,[2] and exhibited cultural diversity in subsistence patterns, ecological adaptations, housing patterns, kinship systems and many other areas. Collectively, Europeans would refer to these diverse peoples as "Indians." This infamous misnomer, has confounded Native peoples over the centuries. Many of the New England nations (tribes) during the early contact period would express dismay over being called "Indians". They eventually realized that the term referred to all Native inhabitants of the region, and it was an outgroup name, an imposed name, that was used to describe the collectivity of non-European peoples.[3]

The term "Indian" or "Native American" does not accurately deal with the concepts of sovereignty and diversity. Each group of indigenous people had a name by which they referred to themselves. The Anishnabeg, the Ikce Wicasa, and the Odawa would become known in the post-contact historical period as the Chippewa, the Sioux, and the Ottawa. These individual names would be corrupted and negated by the common usage of "Indian" to describe all Native peoples. Through the use of the term "Indian", the image of indigenous peoples would merge into a composite view which did not reflect the uniqueness of the diverse groups of peoples.

Like the diversity that was exhibited in groups names, indigenous peoples had differing perceptions of the environment and the natural order of the universe, but there were similarities between these spiritual ideologies. All indigenous peoples had a cosmological interpretation of the creation of the world, and many themes in Native American philosophy/spirituality tend to recur among differing groups. The prominent role of twins, often representing the polarities of human nature, the trickster as a cultural hero, and the significance of the number four (4) which represents yearly cycles and the directions of the universe are all commonly shared by many Native peoples. Generalizations about Native American philosophy/spirituality are on firm footing when discussing the earth. Native peoples view the earth, almost universally, as a feminine figure.

The Mother provided for the sustenance and well-being of her children: it was from her that all subsistence was drawn. The relationship of Native peoples to the earth, their Mother, was a sacred bond with the creation.

The masculine counterpart to the earth mother was the sky. Native peopels regarded the heavens as the domain of the Creator, or the Great Mystery or Power on High as this force has been verbally described. The sun, in particular, often personified masculine power. The relationship between the earth mother and sky father was perceived as a continuous love affair, which Native peoples were allowed to witness and participate in. The power of the sun and the rains that impregnated the earth mother, provided the necessities of lfie for Native peoples. These products of love were sacred, and were to be respected and treated with great care. All behaviors of Native peoples, in some way, were related to this perception of universal interaction and purpose.

Native peoples viewed many of the products of the natural environment as gifts from the Creator. This was particularly true in relationship to animals. Adrian Tanner, in Bringing Home Animals, clearly states this relationship. "Men make gifts to the animal world, that is, to the bush, and in return are the recipients of gifts of game animals killed by the hunters."[4] Man, in the Native American conception of the world, was not created to "lord" over other beings, but rather to cooperate and share the bounty of the

earth with the other elements of the creation. All things in the creation had an essence, a reason for being, and this relationship was taken very seriously. "Man" was to function as a caretaker of the environment. Native peoples realized that there was an intricate balance between the elements of the world. Animals, air, water and plants all co-existed in a fragile harmony that must be heeded to insure the continuation of the people. It is this notion of continuity that manifests itself in the Native American adherence to the circle or cycle of life.

Christopher Vecsey and Robert W. Venables address the concept of the "sacred circle" in the introduction to their text, American Indian Environments: Ecological Issues in Native American History.

> The American Indians' concept of the sacred circle expresses a physical and spiritual unity. This circle of life is interpreted according to the particular beliefs of each Indian nation but is broadly symbolic of an encompassing creation. The English verb "environ" has as its first definition in the Oxford English Dictionary: "Of things: To form a ring around, surround, encircle". While non-Indians quite willingly admit to the complexity of the circle of "things" around them, what has been left behind by the scientific, post-Renaissance non-Indian world is the universal sacredness -- the living mystery -- of creation's circle. One of the themes of this book is the consequences of a conflict during which most indigenous Indian nations, who saw their environments as the sacred interdependence of the creator's will, confronted waves of post-Renaissance Europeans who saw in the environment a natural resource ordained by God for their sole benefit.[5]

This statement, which provides accurate insight into the environmental perceptions of Native peoples, emphasizes the "relatedness" of all beings in the creation. Unfortunately,

many people refuse to acknowledge the credibility of such "obvious" statements about the nature of Native American views. Often, the simplicity of the very basic contentions which are at the heart of Native American philosophy elude scholars. As an example, William A. Starna, in his review of American Indian Environments, condemed the notion of a sacred circle, as a "pan-Indian mythology."[6] The insensitivity that is inherent in this statement is confirmed by the reviewer's total lack of understanding of the concluding chapter in the Vecsey and Venables text. The final chapter is entitled, "An Iroquois Perspective," and is authored by Oren Lyons.

In his review, Starna refers to Lyon's essay as "a very brief but rambling account"[7] and casts doubts about the intended meaning and message of Lyon's essay. The reason that it seems rambling to Starna is the fact that he is unable to perceive the implicit reality for Native peoples, particularly the Iroquois, of the existence of a "sacred circle." Lyons very clearly addresses the issue in "An Iroquois perspective," which is included in American Indian Environments.

> Respect the proper manner so that the seventh generation will have a place to live in. Let us look at the large issues. We are concerned with all the children of this earth. We are concerned with the four colors of man. Natural Law is very simple. You cannot change it: it prevails over all. There is not a tight rule, there is no court, there is not a group of nations in this world that can change this Natural Law. The Indians understood the Natural Laws. They build their laws to coincide with Natural Laws. And that's how we survived.[8]

Lyons is referring to what can be called the "sacred circle." Whether or not this ideal has any meaning or validity for Starna is not important. What is important is that the existence of "Natural Laws" is a contemporary reality for a prominent leader of the Onondaga Nation, and this present manifestation has strong historical roots among many Native American groups.

In 1854 Chief Seattle of the Swamish and Suquamish Tribes issued a statement in response to a federal request to purchase the lands of the northwest from the Native peoples who traditionally lived there. His response sheds a great deal of light on the concepts that have been presented above, and for this reason it will be quoted at length.

> Younder sky that has wept tears of compassion upon our fathers for centuries untold, and which to us looks eternal, may change. Today it is fair, tomorrow it may be overcast with clouds.
>
> My words are like the stars that never set. What Seattle says the Great Chief at Washington can rely upon with as much certainty as our paleface brothers can rely upon the return of the seasons.
>
> The son of the Great Chief says his father sends us greetings of friendship and good will. This is kind of him, for we know he has little need of our friendship in return because his people are many. They are like the grass that covers the vast prairies, while my people are few; they resemble the scattering trees of a storm-swept plain.
>
> . . .
>
> My people are ebbing away like a fast-receding tide that will never flow again. The White man's God cannot love His red children or He would protect them. We seem to be orphans who can look nowhere for help.
>
> How, then, can we become brothers? How can your God become our God and renew our prosperity and awaken in us dreams of returning greatness?

> Your God seems to be partial. He came to the white man. We never saw Him, never heard His voice. He gave the white man laws, but had no word for his red children whose teeming millions once filled this vast continent as the stars fill the firmament.
>
> No. We are two distinct races, and must ever remain so, with separate origins and separate destinies. There is little in common between us.
>
> To us the ashes of our ancestors are sacred and their final resting place is hallowed ground, while you wander far from the graves of your ancestors and, seemingly, without regret.
>
> Your religion was written on tablets of stone by the iron finger of an angry God, lest you might forget it. The Red Man could never comprehend nor remember it.
>
> . . .
>
> Every part of this country is sacred to my people Every hillside, every valley, every plain and grove has been hallowed by some fond memory or some sad experience of my tribe. Even the rocks, which seem to lie dumb as they swelter in the sun along the silent sea shore in solemn grandeur thrill with memories of past events connected with the lives of my people.
>
> The very dust under your feet responds more loveingly to our footsteps than to yours, because it is the ashes of our ancestors, and our bare feet are conscious of the sympathetic touch, for the soil is rich with the life of our kindred.
>
> . . .
>
> The white man will never be alone. Let him be just and deal kindly with my people, for the dead are not powerless.
>
> Dead --- did I say? There is no death. Only a change of worlds![9]

There is a great deal of controversy about the authenticity of the quotes which are attributed to Chief Seattle, and I would like to clarify this or provide support for the above version that has been cited. There is no doubt that enormous license has been taken with the words of Seattle. As an example, read the version of the Point Elliott Treaty speech which has been copyrighted and circulated by the Augsburg

Publishing Company of Minneapolis, Minnesota.[10] The distortion clouds the intended meaning of the Sachem's speech, and the corruption of language seems to be aimed at promoting brotherhood, which as illustrated by the above quote, was not the desired result that Seattle sought. The version of Seattle's speech which is cited above appeared in the Seattle Sunday Star on October 29, 1887. It was recorded by Dr. Henry A. Smith, who had been present at the Point Elliott negotiations. The authenticity of the quote has been attested to by Mr. Vivian M. Carkeek, who had discussed the matter with Dr. Smith before he died. A Seattle attorney, Clark R. Belknap, supports the authenticity of the transcription as it appears in Chief Seattle's Unanswered Challenge, and his conversation with Mr. Carkeek was witnessed by Mr. William A. Harris, an associate of Carkeeks.[11]

Chief Seattle was not speaking in metaphoric language when he referred to the land as sacred. The elements of the creation were kindred, and were to be respected in perpetuity. Throughout the recorded history of Indian-White relations there have been numerous statements by indigenous peoples that verify the attitudes and perceptions of Seattle. The Lakota (Sioux) holyman Black Elk would lament that the "Nation's hoop" was broken when the unrelated culture of the non-Indian took possession of the lands of the Seven Fires. In the classic Black Elk Speaks, which is an account of the life of Black Elk as told to John Niehardt,

an insightful description of Lakota philosophy is presented which points out the "inter-relatedness" of man to the natural environment. Again, the concept of the circle is present, this time being characterized as a "hoop."[12]

J.R. Walker's The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Sioux contains one of the most descriptive narratives of the "sacred circle." The following was obtained form an informant who was called Tyon, prior to 1917.

> The Oglala believe the circle to be sacred because the Great Spirit caused everything in nature to be round except stone. Stone is the implement of destruction. The sun and sky, the earth and moon are round like the shield, though the sky is deep like a bowl. Everything that breathes is round like the body of man. Everything that grows from the ground is round like the stem of a tree. Since the Great Spirit has caused everything to be round mankind should look upon the circle as sacred for it is the symbol of all things in nature except stone. It is also the symbol of the circle that marks the edge of the world and therefore the four winds that travel there. Consequently, it is also the symbol of a year. The day, the night, and the moon go in a circle above the sky. Therefore the circle is a symbol of these divisions of time and hence the symbol of all time.[13]

The idea of the cyclic motion of the planets, as well as their physical shape, and the direct observation of nature have reinforced the sacredness of the circle.

There is a continuity present in the Native American conception of the environment throughout the post-contact period which is very strong and easily recognized. In Seeing With A Native Eye: Essays on Native American Religion, Barre Toelken argues that there is a continuity of cultural perceptions of the physical environment among the Pueblos.

> We might consider the Pueblo view that in the springtime Mother Earth is pregnant, and one does not mistreat her anymore than one might mistreat a pregnant woman. When our technologists go and try to get Pueblo farmers to use steel plows in the spring, they are usually rebuffed. For us it is a technical idea - "Why don't you just use the plows? You plow, and you get "X" results from doing so." For the Pueblos this is meddling with the formal religious idea (in Edward Hall's terms). Using a plow, to borrow the Navajo phrase, "Doesn't hold any sheep." In other words, it does not make any sense in the way in which the world operates. It is against the way things really go. Some Pueblo folks still take the heels off their shoes, and sometimes the shoes off their horses, during the spring. I once asked a Hopi whom I met in the country, "Do you mean to say, then, that if I kick the ground with my foot, it will botch everything up, so nothing will grow?" He said. "Well, I don't know whether that would happen or not, but it would just really show what kind of a person you are."[14]

This same persistance of Native American environmental perceptions is also apparent in Lame Deer Seeker of Visions. This work, very reminiscent of Black Elk Speaks, is the combined efforts of John (Fire) Lame Deer, a Lakota Holyman who participated in the occupation of Mount Rushmore in the Black Hills to protest the violations by the United States of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, and Richard Erdoes, a European born illustrator and journalist. In the text, John (Fire) Lame Deer provides numerous ecological insights about the nature and priorities of contemporary society.

> The green frong skin - that was what the fight was all about. The gold of the Black Hills, the gold in every clump of grass. Each day you can see ranch hands riding over the land. They have a bagful of grain hanging from their saddle horns, and whenever they see a prarie-dog hole they toss a handful of oats in it, like a kind little old lady feeding the pigeons in one of your city parks. Only the oats for the prairie dogs are poisoned with strychnine. What happens to the prairie dog after he has eaten this grain is not a pleasant thing to watch. The prairie dogs are poisoned

> because they eat grass. A thousand of them eat up as much grass in a year as a cow. So if the rancher can kill that many prairie dogs he can run one more head of cattle, make a little more money. When he looks at a prairie dog he sees only a green frog skin getting away from him.
>
> For the white man each blade of grass or spring of water has a price tag on it. And that is the trouble, because look at what happens. A bobcat and coyotes which used to feed on prairie dogs now have to go after a stray or crippled calf. The rancher calls the pest control officer to kill these animals. This man shoots some rabbits and puts them out as bait with a piece of wook stuck in them. That stick has an explosive charge which shoots some cyanide into the mouth of the coyote who tugs at it. The officer has been trained to be careful. He puts a printed warning on each stick reading, "Danger, Explosive, Poison!" The trouble is that our dogs can't read, and some of our children can't either.
>
> And the prairie becomes a thing without life - no more prairie dogs, no more badgers, foxes, coyotes. The big birds of prey used to feed on prairie dogs, too. So you hardly see an eagle these days. The bald eagle is your symbol. You see him on your money, but your money is killing him. When a people start killing off their symbols, they are in a bad way.[15]

Oren Lyons, Chief Seattle, Tyon, Black Elk, the unidentified Hopi and Lame Deer all address the Native American perception of the environment and man's relationship to it. These environmental perceptions, which were in practice the attitudes, values and beliefs of Native peoples as they interacted with the land, flora and fauna, and other intangible forms of existence (spirits) formed the core of Native American adaptations to the natural world. Environmental perceptions for Native Americans were responsible for dictating behaviors and defining the limits of Man-Nature relations. The above statements emphasize the need for individual respect and a spiritual tie to the natural world. The "sacred hoop", or cycle of life, is not something to

be tampered with. These diverse examples of the Native American image of the earth provide a glimpse of what would become touted as the twentieth century outdoor ethic.

The elements of Native American philosophy described above, became very appealing to certain segments of the American population at the close of the nineteenth century. This appeal was based on the radical changes that took place in American society. Massive urban areas came into existence at this time as a result of the enormous number of immigrants who came to the United States seeking employment opportunities, or escape from European conflicts. This large influx of people caused a noticeable decline in the quality of life for most working class peoples in the urban areas. This, when coupled with the "passing of the great west," which had acted as a overflow valve to stem population buildups in specific regions, produced a cultural mileau that was unrelated to the land and natural environment. This "unrelatedness" was noticed by diverse observers of American society; Black Elk noticed it, as did the American poet and author William Carlos Williams who vividly wrote about it in his collection of essays, In The American Grain, where he described the contemporary American as, "an Indian robbed of world."[16] The impact of the industrial revolution upon the environment and the "settlement" of the west, with its subsequent destruction of wildlife, ushered in the age of environmental thought.

In 1890, Jacob Riis published How the Other Half Lives. This text, which is an indictment of the tenements in New York City, epitomized the urban problems that were beginning to plague the United States. The large groups of diverse peoples in these tenements had no chance of interacting with the romanticized American West, and were trapped in urban servitude.

> It is ten years and over, now, since the line divided New York's population evenly. To-day three-fourths of its people live in the tenements and the nineteenth century drift of the population to the cities is sending ever increasing multitudes to crowd them. The fifteen thousand tenement houses that were the despair of the sanitarian in the past generation have swelled into thirty-seven thousand, and more than twelve hundred thousand persons call them home. The one way out he saw - rapid transit to the suburbs - has brought no relief. We know now that there is no way out; that the "system" that was the evil offspring of public neglect and private greed has come to stay a storm-centre forever of our civilization. Nothing is left but to make the best of a bad bargain.[17]

The massive scale of urban degradation was only a part of the changes that had occurred during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The American West had been subdued, and was being controlled by massive special interest groups. The large consolidated ranches, which came into being after the Homestead Act of 1862 by establishing claims to water sources and controlling access to these sites, used federal range lands as private property. The railroads, given land easements and right-of-ways as inducements to build lines in the west, became the primary factor in determining the prices that would be paid for western commodities. These developments were an outgrowth of the exploitation of the natural resources of the American West.

The west harbored tremendous herds of the American bison in the mid-nineteenth century, but during the decade of 1870-1880, the major herds of the buffalo were decimated by the hide hunters who flocked to the west. It was not until 1871 that a viable market developed for the hide of the bison. Prior to this time, the hides were left to rot on the plains, while the meat was sold to the railroads, army posts, or to local restaurants for table fare. The buffalo hide was not desired prior to 1871 because of the difficulty of tanning the hide. Many of the early tanning experiments with buffalo hides were conducted in England and Germany. When these efforts proved successful, the market for hides as lap robes or leather products rapidly escalated. By 1883, the majority of the great herds of the American Bison had been exhausted. Much of the depredation upon the buffalo was the result of local citizenry who sought get rich quick schemes. The slaughter of the American Bison was perceived as a way to supplement local wages and provide needed meat.[18]

The demise of the buffalo was also tied to the control and domination of Native American populations in the west. The destruction of the bison, although primarily caused by economic motivations, was welcomed by the United States Army as a military solution to the "Indian problem." If Native Americans did not have access to the continued food supply, which was provided by the buffalo, the Indian would have to become dependent on the federal government. Frank

Mayer, one of the most notorious of the hide hunters, commented upon the ease of acquiring ammunition from the military to kill buffalo.[19] This policy of encouraging the destruction of the buffalo, would lure large numbers of hunters to pursue the "shaggies."

The destruction of the American Bison marks the zenith of exploitative practices and thoughts in the late nineteenth century. The decimation of the buffalo had the effect of freeing up major range areas that would be consolidated into large ranches that were already flourishing in some areas in the west. The buffalo, as free grazer, would be supplanted by the steer, an animal which could be corralled, controlled, and genetically manipulated to produce saleable beef. This contrast between the bison and the steer provides insight into the nature of non-Indian environmental perceptions in the late nineteenth century.

At the close of the nineteenth century, the contemporary non-Indian perception of the environment emphasized the necessity of bringing the natural world under the control of "man." The earth was to be dominated and used to provide not only the basic needs of man, but a margin of profitability. This process of utilization was not accompanied by a philosophy which "related" man to the environment. The concepts of surplus and markets were closely allied with the contemporary perceptions of resources at this period of time, and these perceptions dictated behaviors in relation to the natural world. Under the

auspices of Social Darwinism, American business demanded that only the strong survive. A philosophy of exploitation, which led to the extermination of the Great Auk, the Passenger Pigeon, and the Heath-Hen, to name a few of the animal resources, permeated the American psyche. Animals were perceived of as mere commodities, not as "fellow beings", and this short-sighted perception quickened the pace of the competition for animal resources and exacerbated environmental depradation. The American Bison has come to symbolize this epoch in American history. Cy Martin, in his Saga of the Buffalo, described the role of the American Bison in the west.

> The buffalo played an important part in the opening of the West; Without him, railroads would have gone bankrupt, homesteaders would have starved, and perhaps Indians would still roam the Great Plains of our western states. The buffalo, with his shaggy hair and hump, is a symbol of the growth of the United States. We, like the Indians, should consider him with awe and respect.[20]

This statement is an ironic eulogy for the American Bison: Now that you are gone, we will lament your passing. Lame Deer was correct when he said, "When a people start killing off their symbols, they are in a bad way."

It was crucial to the future of American environmental thought that the contemporary practices of resource use in the west were being called into question. George Perkins Marsh was instrumental in the formation of a conservation ethic, and his The Earth as Modified by Human Action, published in 1874, became the model for numerous environmental texts.[21] For the most part, the contributions of

Marsh and others have received attention in the literature for their role in the development of conservationist thought. Modern conservation, in which natural resources are purposely preserved and used, was only beginning to develop in 1870-1880. An example of this can be illustrated by the establishment of Yellowstone Park by Congressional action in 1872. The park was preserved because it was distinct from the surrounding western countryside. The presence of hot springs and geysers prompted a movement to establish a museum of "curiosities" and wonders.[22] Very little thought was given to the historical significance or popular appeal that the park would hold for future generations. Congress did not purpose to "save" this region for the posterity of the nation, but rather to withdraw it from settlement and exploitation because of its unique physical attributes. Although this action is different from a modern definition of conservation, it was an attempt to strike a balance between over-utilization and the preservation of natural resources. This balance would eventually become twentieth century conservation.

The literature of conservationist thought and practice has acknowledged the important contributions of George Perkins Marsh but has neglected other prominent figures. One of the earliest critics of the decimation of the western animal resources was George Bird Grinnell, born in 1849 and raised in New York City, who accompanied the Othniel C. Marsh Expedition of 1870 to the American West.

Marsh, a Yale paleontologist, went west to survey geological and fossil deposits and the expedition reached the present state of Wyoming in the late summer of 1870.[23] Grinnell, complete with his eastern biases, and a self-avowed "pilgrim", found himself in the American West in all its glory. The Pawnee, Cheyenne, Blackfoot, and Sioux were present in large numbers in the west and were frequently encountered on the 1870 expedition. Later, in June of 1875, Grinnell traveled as the expedition naturalist of the Ludlow party to Montana to survey Yellowstone Park. In his official report to Washington, he prefaced a "Letter of Transmittal" with a comment on the destruction of western animal resources.

> It may be out of place here to call ... attention to the terrible destruction of large game, for the hides alone, which is constantly going on in those portions of Montana and Wyoming through which we passed. Buffalo, elk, mule deer and antelope are being slaughtered by the thousands each year, without regard to age or sex, and at all seasons. Of the vast majority of animals killed, the hide only is taken. Females of all these species are as eagerly pursued in the spring, when just about to bring forth their young, as at any other time.[24]

This wholesale slaughter of North American animals had been addressed in 1843 by John James Audubon when he predicted the demise of the buffalo for many of the same reasons that Grinnell described.[25]

The focusing of public attention upon the exploitation of animal resources in the United States signals the advent of conservationist thought, which would eventually develop into the contemporary "outdoor ethic." This development

was not without ironic twists, for while the Congress was protecting Yellowstone Park, it was also condoning the destruction of the American Bison via appropriations to the military that allowed hide hunters to obtain free powder and lead from military installations. Conservationist thought would develop very slowly between 1870 and 1900, but this development would accelerate as the rapacious destruction of animal resources continued. The need for an "ethical" relationship between man and the environment would become a commonsense adaptation to the demise of game populations. The development of this "ethical" tie with the environment would be significantly influenced by the examples and philosophy of Native Americans as the destruction of wild game became more prevelent.

The literature is resplendent with examples of the destruction of natural resources as a result of western expansion. Peter Matthiessen, in his work, Wildlife in America, states that "At one time or another the white man has substantially diminshed all the hoofed mammals of North America."[26] It is ironic that Native peoples were popularly blamed for the destruction of many of the great herds of game animals that roamed the west. Richard H. Pough, in his introduction to Matthiessen's text, singles out the Indian as the "scapegoat" in relation to dwindling western game populations. "The Indians were the first to be blamed, and then, as their numbers decreased, the blame was shifted to predators."[27] Pough was referring to the

tradition of blaming Native Americans for the decimation of animal populations.

> "The Indians, by a very bad policy, prefer the flesh of the Cows; which in time will destroy the species." (The idea that the Indian was the sole culprit in the destruction of the bison was to gain in popularity as its slaughter by white men increased.)[28]

The popular stereotype of the Indian during the late nineteenth century as an exploiter was a classic case of "blaming the victim".

It must be stated, though, that Native Americans did play a role in the decimation of natural resources on the North American continent. Native peoples benefited from and participated in the destruction of animal populations, particularly the beaver and large western hoofed mammals, during the contact period. Native Americans participated in the overhunting of these species out of necessity. When Indians did take part in the destruction of game animals during the historic contact period and into the late nineteenth century, it was not for the same reasons that non-Indian market hunters and hide hunters did. Subsistence and cultural autonomy, rather than avarice, were the motivators for Native American participation in the trade.

The role of Native Americans in the destruction of game animals has recently been addressed by the publication of Calvin Martin's, Keepers of the Game. This text has generated a great deal fo critical interest, and it is important to any discussion of Native peoples as conservationists. Martin postulates that Native Americans, who

were engaged in the fur trade, waged a war on "revenge" against fur bearers, in particular the beaver. He surmises that the effects of European diseases, which decimated Native populations, were eventually attributed to the beaver, and this provided the rationale for Native hunters to exploit the beaver for the fur trade.

The work is a provocative attempt to provide a new rationale for the behavior of Native hunters in the fur trade, but Martin's contentions are weakly supported, and the argument is riddled with contradicitons. Martin contends that Native Americans were not conservationists, and that this image is simply a popular "stereotype".

> Late in the 1960's the North American Indian acquired yet another stereotypic image in the popular mind: the erstwhile "savage", the "drunken" Indian, the "vanishing" Indian was conferred the title of the "ecological" (i.e., conservationist-minded) Indian. Propped up for everything that was environmentally sound, the Indian was introduced to the American public as the great high priest of the Ecology Cult. Depending upon one's point of reference, this might appear to be another crass commercial gimmick, a serious case of misread or ignored history, or a logical outgrowth of the conservation movement. Actually, it was some of all three. The idea would never have taken hold had it not been that the conservationists needed a spiritual leader at that particular point in time, and the Indian, given the contemporary fervor and theology of environmentalism, seemed the logical choice.[29]

Martin's perception of Native peopels as non-conservationists, when coupled with his allegation that Native Americans engaged in a war of revenge on the beaver, portrays Native peoples as exploiters and disavows the consistantly reiterated "sacred" relationship between man and environment.

There is no doubt, as Martin and others contend, that Native Americans were the principal agents in overharvesting furbearers during the fur trade, but reasons for this activity have been totally misconstrued. As Martin points out, the analysis of the fur trade and Native participation via western economic theory is a fruitless past-time. Western conceptions of markets and incentives cannot be imposed upon culturally distinct groups. Martin prefers the notion that "traditional", time honored religious systems were undermined, and this led to Native American involvement in the trade. Without the long standing religious ties to animals, Native Americans were lured into the trade because of the incentives that were provided by Europeans in the form of trade goods. Native Americans were not "seduced" into the trade, rather the disintegration of cultural systems provided an appropriate environment in which the trade could occur. Once the trade cycle began, and Native peoples came to rely on European trade goods, indigenous practices and material culture fell into disuse. This, when coupled with the tremendous effects of disease upon Native populations, tied Native peoples to the trade to sustain themselves.

There are a number of assumptions that seriously flaw Keepers of the Game. In many instances, Martin takes his sources at face value, without a critical appraisal of the information. This is particularly true of the discussion of the Midewiwin (Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwe).

Martin agrees with Harold Hickerson, "that the Midewiwin was a post-contact, nativistic cult."[30] Martin supports Hickerson's interpretation because Hickerson, who "has combed the Jesuit Relations and other appropriate seventeenth century sources, found no signs of it prior to the early eighteenth century."[31] This interpretation is highly ethnocentric and denies the oral traditions of Native peoples, particularly the Ojibwe, which Martin sees fit to use when they suit his purposes. To disavow the existence of a highly secret society because it is not mentioned in the literature, when that society functions in an oral culture, is a bias that contemporary historians must come to grips with. The emphasis on the quantification of literary sources detracts from the examination of culturally viable phenomena. The oral traditions of the Ojibwe place the Midewiwin in the precontract period, and this has also been stated in the literature that has been written by Native Americans.[32]

Martin's work is seriously marred by his inadequate knowledge of animals, particularly, the beaver. Referring to the relationship between man and beaver, Martin states: "The two were locked in mortal combat, with the Indian the perennial underdog. Man's primitive tools were pitfully inadequate to penetrate the fortress-like lodge, reasoned Thompson. So the Indian stood by and watched, helplessly, as beaver multiplied and became a nuisance, and then a menace, assuming possession of every waterway that lent

itself to their purposes."[33] Martin goes on to cite a conversation between two Cree hunters during the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, which was recorded by David Thompson in his Narrative,[34] to provide evidence for the spiritual sanction for the destruction of the beaver. One of the elder Cree spokesman stated: "the Great Spirit has been, and now is, very angrey with them and they are now all to be destroyed."[35] Martin uses this statement, which seems to be a classic rationalization for decimating beaver during the peak of the fur trade, as support for the contention "that on the eve of European contact man and beast were at war."[36] This proposal entirely denies the beneficial nature of the beaver in the Native hunters eco-system.

The beaver, with its aquatic environment, is a blessing to the hunter. The beaver's backwaters, from the construction of dams, support fish populations and provide habitat for water mammals other than the beaver. Migrating waterfowl use the beaver ponds for stop-overs, and in the spring the beaver marshes are prime nesting areas for these winged travelers. The beaver dams provide major causeways for mammals, which allow the trapper prime spots to catch game, but more importantly, the beaver ponds have the effect of funneling deer and other land animals into narrow spots where they can be taken by the hunter at close range while waiting in concealment. In the northern range of the beaver, they provide the perfect habitat for the moose,

which can also be hunted from the land or the water, using a canoe. The beaver may have been viewed as having fallen into disfavor with the Great Spirit during the peak of the fur trade, so as to rationalize the negation of traditional man-animal relations to Native peoples, but in the pre-contact world, and the post-fur trade period, the beaver was viewed as the ally of the Native hunter. This is especially true when the beaver-man relationship is examined in the pre-fur trade period, and the effects of other forms of natural predation are considered. The beaver was, and is, predated upon by wolves, lynx, wolverines, otters, bears, and coyotes, not to mention eagles, great horned owls and hawks which will prey upon the young. The beaver, in the natural eco-system, was never perceived as a "nuisance", and most certainly, never infringed on the land holdings of man.

Martin's explanation of the role of tularemia in acting as a catalyst to the destruction of animals by Native hunters is equally unsupported. Tularemia, a bacterial disease, is thought to have been present on the North American Continent in the form of the "type A" strain of the disease, which is associated with land organisms, and "type B", which is the less virulent form of the disease, and is associated with wetlands.[37] The "type B" form would be the strain of the bacteria that would likely affect beaver. This disease, as stated by Martin in his footnote, is fatal in less than 1% of the untreated cases in humans.

Martin concludes, after his discussion of tularemia, without making any direct connections between Native peoples citing animals as the causes of their sickness that:

> Speculation and conjecture aside, it is obvious that these Eastern Canadian and other North American Indians blamed wildlife for their diseases precisely because they were, indeed, the source of many of their ailments.[38]

This statement is in opposition to the historic perception of animals by Native peoples, and does not accurately reflect the causes of illness among tribes in the eastern woodlands.

William C. Sturtevant, in his critical essay of Martin's text states that, "There appears to be no evidence that Northern Indians blamed wildlife in this way; rather, they blamed themselves for contravening the rules governing the relations between humans and animals."[39] Sickness, as clarified by Sturtevant, and further supported by A.I. Hallowell, is caused by the behaviors of peoples. Hallowell contends that "any serious illness is associated with some prior conduct which involved an infraction of moral rules: the illness is explained as a penalty for bad conduct."[40] Even if Martin's assumption was correct pertaining to the causes of illness among Eastern Canadian Indians, and it wasn't, it would be a quantum leap in logic to infer that a disease that is fatal to less than 1% of the untreated cases was associated as the causal agent of pandemics which destroyed up to 95% of the members of certain Native American groups. Native peoples had absolutely no reason

to attribute the effects of European diseases to the beaver and the least virulent form of tularemia.

The primary reason for this digression to explicitly criticize Keepers of the Game is to point out that Martin's consideration of Native peoples as non-conservationists is based on incorrect assumptions. He states in the concluding paragraph of Keepers of the Game: "Nature, for virtually all North American Indians, was sensate, animate, and capable of aggressive behavior toward mankind."[41] Martin was only partially correct. The environment was sensate and animate, and it was capable of inflicting harm, but animals were not the purveyors of these ill-tidings. Martin erroneously surmised that these qualities of the environment predisposed Native peoples to "wage war" on animals, and this is simply not true.

Martin's underestimation of Native peoples is clearly exhibited in his inability to understand man-animal relations and the performance of condolances or rituals of atonement. Native peoples conducted rituals of atonement to assist the slain animals' spirit to the next world, and to give thanks for providing food for the hunter's family. This ritual was perceived as being a renewal of the formal ties of man and animal, and an acknowledgement of each re spective parties role in the creation. These atonements were conducted because Native peoples desired to dwell on the very serious nature of their behavior. They had just KILLED another being to insure the survival of their family, and this was a part of the Creator's will. Animals were gifts to man, and this relationship must be taken seriously.

These rituals were not conducted, as Martin contends, to stop animals from "inflicting disease."[42] Since Martin proposes that these rituals were only performed as protective devices, this of course, negates any "ethical" ties that Native hunters may have had with game animals. These ethical ties, are the cornerstone of modern conservation, and Martin's inability to perceive of atonements as anything other than protective measures forces him to pigeon-hole Native peoples as non-conservationists. There can be no doubt that western game animal populations would have fared much better if non-Indian hunters would have "ritualized" their actions of killing, or simply reflected on their "ethical" tie with the Creation, as Native hunters did.

Even when the Utes of Colorado were forced to kill thousands of antelope for their hides and meat in 1878, this was not a wanton act of destruction but rather the only vehicle for the Utes to maintain some semblence of equality between the encroaching settlers, the military and themselves. They distained the slaughter, but by 1878 the buffalo were scarce on the northern plains, and this meant that the subsistence patterns of the Ute were severely disrupted. They, as a people, were faced with minimal alternatives to ensure their continued survival. One alternative was to participate in the widespread butchering that surrounded them: by participating, they could at least sustain themselves. It was a matter of selecting the lesser of two evils. They could be exterminated

or confined to reservations, or they could provide for themselves by hide hunting. The only choice was the latter.

Some scholars have used the examples of Native American complicity in acts of destruction to rationalize the conduct of non-Indian hunters. John F. Reiger states, for instance, that "It appears that the Indian once corrupted, could give up his customary reverence for nature and exploit it just as ruthlessly as the white man."[43] Reiger and others neglect the effects of the primarily non-Indian resource exploitation on Indian actions. This represents a "we're not the only ones" phenomena. The inclusion of Native peoples as resource exploiters diffuses the responsibility for the destruction of game resources, yet the brunt of the responsibility clearly rests with non-Indian hunters and profiteers who possessed few "spiritual" ties to the land.

The actions of western settlers and hunters belie the absence of a land ethic or conservationist thought during the period from 1870-1900. This is not to say that there were not efforts in that direction: some of these movements will be discussed in the next chapter. The fact remains though, that if these land or environmental philosophies were present, they were not popularly perceived or practiced by the "frontiersman."

In contrast to the frontiersman, Native Americans have been identified as having and practicing a philosophical/ spiritual tie with the land and with animal populations.

This relationship with the environment was intact during the decades from 1870-1900, and no groups of people decried the decimation of the American Bison more than Native Americans. The prefacing remarks at many treaty councils between the United States Federal Government and Indian Nations included statements that protested the destruction of game animals. With the destruction of food sources, indigenous peoples were forced to become more dependent upon the federal government. The resulting cultural disruption and change would cause innumerable problems for Native peoples.

The frequent contact between American Indians and military personnel, guides, settlers and travelers was destined to result in acculturation. Acculturation, which is the process of modifying culture via contact between differing groups, is not a unilateral phenomena. It has been proposed that acculturation only affects the "primitive" or lesser developed peoples when cultural contact occurs. This is simply not the case. Numerous examples can be cited which support the contention that acculturation is, in reality, a two-way street. The adoption of tobacco by European populations, the reliance on corn and bean crops that were indigenous to North American by early colonial settlers, the utilization of Native American modes of transportation (canoe, snow shoes, tobaggon), and the acquisition of Native American hunting techniques are examples of the acculturation of European

populations to indigenous cultural patterns. The influences of Native peoples upon the development of the North American continent are undeniable. It is not a preposterous assumption then, that the philosophy of Native Americans should eventually impact on the "American" perception of the natural world. Of course, this development was gradual and the movement encompassed many years.

Initially, Europeans lacked real interest in the workings of Native American cultures. This lack of understanding was exacerbated by the continuing hostilities between the divergent groups of peoples that were involved in the conquest of North America. By the mid-nineteenth century though, attitudes toward the Native American had started to change. The effects of the Removal Act of 1830, and the "pacification" of the eastern tribes created an atmosphere of concerned parternalism among eastern and New England populations. These regions were destined to become the centers of "Indian reform", which ironically was directed by non-Indian peoples, and in the late nineteenth century these areas were concerned about the future of the American Indian. These regions would nurture the "friends" of the American Indian who would lead fights to protect Native rights, and look out for the interests of their poor "brethren." The bent of the reformers was pro-assimilationist, but this was to be expected. These same geographic regions that would produce prominent reformers, would also yield the men and women who recognized the

tenets of Native American philosophy/spirituality that would develop into the twentieth century conservation ethic.

Henry David Thoreau, George Bird Grinnell, Ernest Thompson Seton, Hamlin Garland and Charles Alexander Eastman, to name a few, would be strongly influenced by the growing concerns of the eastern "friends" of the Native American. These men, excepting Charles A. Eastman, who was a Santee Sioux, gradually became familiar with the basic values of Native American philosophy via their travels and involvement with American Indians. Their insights were often at odds with the eastern "friends", who desired to obliterate Native American culture, and after extensive contact with Native peoples, they genuinely perceived the validity of Native American ties with the environment. It must be clearly stated that these men were also influenced by the contemporary images and perceptions of Native Americans that were the outgrowth of historical contact and cultural biases. Thoreau, Grinnell, Seton and the others, were not immune to the effects of literary traditions that had created a definition of Native peoples. The concept of savagism, which defined the parameters of Native American existence in the mid and late nineteenth century, provided a popular interpretation of Native peoples. Savagism created the image of Native peoples at this period of time, and this image, even though it was a distortion of reality, constrained the thinking of nearly all educated people. Robert F. Sayre, in Thoreau and the American

Indians, has outlined the major tenets of savagism.

> The major stereotypes in savagism were that Indians were (1) solitary hunters rather than farmers; (2) tradition-bound and not susceptible to improvement; (3) childlike innocents who were corrupted by civilization; (4) superstitious pagans who would not accept the highest offerings of civilization like Christianity; and, therefore, (5) doomed to extinction.[44]

These ideas would "color" the perceptions of Thoreau, Grinnell and others, for a period of time, but eventually these notions would be seriously questioned and overturned in favor of more realistic definitions of Native American individuality and existance.

George Bird Grinnell and Ernest Thompson Seton were strongly influenced by savagism during their early contacts with Native Americans. These influences were vivid and can be witnessed in their first observations of Native peoples. Grinnell, as a member of the Marsh Expedition of 1870, remarked one day that, "only one Indian was seen and no one could get a shot at him."[45] Over the next forty years, George Bird Grinnell would greatly moderate his views toward the American Indian. He would become a prominent ethnographer of the Cheyenne and Blackfoot and draw heavily upon his extensive contact with Native Americans to shape his contributions to the formation of conservationist thought in America. Ernest Thompson Seton, while forming his Woodcraft Indians in 1902, proposed to adopt the "best of the Indian ways" for his organization. There can be no doubt that Seton's idea of "the best", incorporated stereotypic images of what he considered Native Americans

to be. After extensive contact with Native peoples during the next thirty years, Seton would publish The Gospel of the Redman. This text is a condemnation of the civilization of the "whiteman", and in the epilogue, Seton would address his readers as an Indian when he expounded on the "Redman's Message."

> We offer you the Message of the Redman, the Creed of Manhood. We advocate his culture as an improvement on our own, if perchance by belated repentance, remorse, restitution, and justification, we may save ourselves from Divine vegeance and total destruction, as did the Ninevites in their final stance; so that we may have a chance to begin again with a better, higher thought.[46]

It is obvious that both Seton and Grinnell had changed their opinions of Native peoples because of their extensive contact and interaction with Native Americans.

The intimate contact that Grinnell and Seton had with Native peoples and consequentially, their changed perceptions of Native Americans, was indicative of the transformations that others would accomplish. As personal relationships were established with Native peoples, the tenets of savagism were undermined because the individual characteristics of Native people, rather than group generalizations, surfaced. As many of the proponents of the contemporary conservation ethic learned more about the intricate workings of Native American societies, they began to be influenced by the philosophy of indigenous Americans which closely tied people to the land. The Native American's ties with the earth and the environment became the prototype of modern conservationist thought. It is interesting to note that

prior to the development of American conservation in the late nineteenth century, there were no popular western models of sustained yield management plans in relationship to natural resources. There were elite management systems that had emigrated to North America from Europe, but these "preserves" were the domain of the affluent, and certainly were not accessible to the "public". Animal resources and other natural resources were protected by ownership rights and land tenure systems that actively excluded large segments of populations from using private property. This system was nearly impossible to implement in the American West because of the vastness of the country, and the abundance of game animals. As a result, there was no control over man's relationship to the environment. Behaviors pertaining to man-animal relations were not internalized by settlers and the purveyors of western civilization to the plains, and as a result, had to be regulated by the passage of game laws and sanctions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In contrast to this orientation with its roots in European law, Native Americans had internalized perceptions of the environment and philosophically/spiritually controlled behaviors in relation to natural resources. It was this cultural appreciation for the earth and her bounty that appealed to Grinnell and Seton, and others who would eventually disseminate the "outdoor ethic."

Western civilization had not produced a systematic and internalized format for promoting a "relatedness" between man and environment. This lack of an ethical tie would prompt exploiters of American resources to make outrageous statements and claims.

> As late as 1879 Mr. E.T. Martin, self-advertised as the "largest dealer in live pigeons for trap shooting in the world, also a dealer in guns, glass balls, traps, nets," gave it as his opinion, in American Field, that the birds of the air and the beasts of the field were purely and simply a gift to man from God above, "for his benefit and profit."[47]

These sentiments were the historical outgrowth of the "American" attitude toward nature. Exploitation had always been condoned in the "New World." The initial, presettlement contacts between Europeans and indigenous populations of North America centered on the exploitation of natural resources, whether they be animal, plant, or human resources (slaves). Russel B. Nye in "The American View of Nature", discusses the philosophical and religious concepts that led to the exploitation of the "New World".[48] The preoccupation with wealth, which could be obtained from the over-utilization of natural resources, was present in the earliest colonial times. Christopher Smith, upon his return to England from the Jamestown colony, assessed the new lands of North America in terms of "an expectuance and assurance of great wealth."[49] The natural beauty of the land was perceived by the early colonist, but as Nye states it, "America was beautiful, but more important, it was profitable."[50] The utility of the land soon outstripped the aesthetic qualities of natural beauty.

To the European colonist, nature posed an onmipresent threat.

> Over the centuries Europe and Asia had worked out a kind of symbiotic relationship between man and nature, but those who first settled on the edge of this huge, unknown expanse possessed no knowledge of wilderness nor an understanding of how to live with it. American nature was new, strange, and hostile, not at all so responsive and predictable as the Old World had become over generations of mutual acquaintance with man. Nature had to be subjugated, if the Colonists' goals-ranging from the Puritan's desire for God's commonwealth to the adventurer's search for jewels in Virginia's sands - were to be realized.[51]

Two major perceptions of the environment would be quickly formed by the early colonists on the North American continent.

> First, they regarded nature as a commodity, a source of food fiber, wealth, power and physical and social well-being, to be utilized for man's comfort and profit. Second, they considered nature to be a source of knowledge, a visible lesson designed by a wise and beneficent Creator for man's instruction. Nature had both use and meaning. It was to be both exploited and contemplated; it was tool and symbol. These two attitudes have controlled the pattern of American's reactions to nature ever since.[52]

By the nineteenth century, the concern for profit that could be derived from the land, vastly outweighted any "lessons" that could be gleaned form the environment.

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed unparalleled decimation of resources and unequaled examples of personal avarice. This was particularly true in the American west.

> With neither rules nor guidelines to follow, the settler had no reason to consider the West as anything more than so much raw material to be exploited here and now. A man's time and effort and profit seemed much more important than the resources at

> hand, so he used the resources as he pleased. Since wood ash was commercially more valuable than trees, Ohio settlers burned whole sections of forest for the ashes alone. Passenger pigeons, killed by the thousands, became hog food. California loggers, John Muir found, burned out smaller sequoias to get at the big ones, which they blasted into manageable pieces with gunpowder, wasting half the tree. If nature was to be used, the Americans used it with vengeance, literally ripping the land to pieces, leaving the evidence still visible in the West today.[33]

The development of a western "relationship" with the land differed significantly from the environmental perceptions and actions of Native Americans. The notion of capitalistic profits, by the acquisition of large surpluses and wealth from the environment, was not a part of "traditional" Native American philosophy as it related man to the land. Natural resources, for Native peoples, were tied to the well-being and continuation of the people. The natural world did not "belong" to anyone, rather it was to be used in a manner that would insure subsistence and survival for future generations. The idea of procuring large financial gains as a result of exploiting the resources of future generations was repulsive to Native Americans, and it was also distainful to the proponents of the conservation movement in the latter part of the nineteenth century. As the destruction of American resources continued during this period of time, the need for a personal, ethical tie to the environment increased. This need was met in part by the presence of Native Americans and their spiritual relationship to the land. The "First Americans" would play a crucial role in the establishment and dissemination of the modern conservation ethic.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

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[4]Adrian Tanner. Bringing Home Animals: Indigenous Ideology and Mode of Production of theMistassina Cree Hunters. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979, p. 173.

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[13]J.R. Walker. The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of The Oglala Division of the Teton Sioux. New York: AMS Press, 1971, p. 160.

[14]Barre Toelken. "Seeing With A Native Eye: How Many Sheet Will It Hold?", in Walter Holden Capps, Ed. Seeing With A Native Eye: Essays on Native American Religion. New York: Harper Forum Books, 1976, p. 14.

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[18]Cy Martin. The Saga of the Buffalo. New York: Hart Publishing Company Inc., 1973, p. 138.

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[21]Peter Matthiessen. Wildlife in America. New York: Viking Press, 1967, p. 189.

[22]John R. Reiger. The Passing of the Great West: Selected Papers of George Bird Grinnell. New York: Winchester Press, 1972, p. 109.

[23]Ibid. p. 29-30.

[24]Ibid. p. 118.

[25]Op Cit. Matthiessen, p. 147.

[26]Ibid. p. 144.

[27]Ibid. p. 14.

[28]Ibid. p. 84.

[29]Calvin Martin. Keepers of the Game. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978, p. 157.

[30]Ibid. p. 85.

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[32]Edward Benton-Benai. The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway. St. Paul: Indian Country Press, 1979, p. 94-102.

[33]Op. Cit. Martin, p. 106.

[34]David Thompson. Narrative, 1784-1812. Edited by Richard Glover. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1962.

[35]Op. Cit. Martin, p. 107.

[36]Ibid. p. 107.

[37]Ibid. p. 141.

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[39]William C. Sturtevant. "Animals and Disease in Indian Belief," in Indians, Animals, and the Fur Trade: A Critique of Keepers of the Game, edited by Shepard Krech III. Athens: The University of Georgie Press, 1981, p. 180.

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[42]Ibid. p. 82.

[43]Op. Cit. Reiger, p. 141.

[44]Robert F. Sayre. Thoreau and the American Indians. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977, p. 6.

[45]Op. Cit. Reiger. p. 35.

[46]Ernest Thompson Seton. The Gospel of the Redman. Santa Fe, New Mexico: Seton Village Press, 1966, p. 108.

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[48]Russel B. Nye. This Almost Chosen People. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1966.

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[50]Ibid. p. 257.

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[52]Ibid. p. 260.

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CHAPTER III

THE LITERARY TREATMENT OF NATIVE AMERICANS IN ELITE LITERATURE

Historians of the conservation ethic have not acknowledged the contributions of Native Americans in the formation of that ethic. This trend has been reinforced by the heavy reliance upon the transcendental writers as the basis for the development of nature and conservation movements in the 19th century. The role and contribution of the transcendentalists is undeniable, but they alone were not totally responsible for the developing ethical relationship of man to the environment.

In 1835, Ralph Waldo Emerson published a short volume entitled, Nature. The publication of this short essay is credited with significantly influencing subsequent writings which portray or describe the natural world,[1] and it also had the effect of legitimizing the field of "sentimental" literature.[2] Hans Huth, in Nature and Man: Three Centuries of Changing Attitudes, states that, "this essay would be regarded as the philosophical constitution of transcendentalism, and that it would be a source of some of the main future trends of thought."[3] The idea of nature, as an appropriate topic for elite writing, was beginning to take hold and the rise of transcendentalism would be influenced

by Emerson, and at a later date, by his friend Henry David Thoreau.

Transcendentalism, as a recognized school of American thought, was a response to the romaticism of the early 19th century. The romanticist focused upon natural beauty as a form of opposition to city life. The vastness and picturesque nature of the American landscape fascinated the romatic mind and the environment provided an unobstructed setting for escapism through literature or the graphic arts. Transcendentalism, as a response to romantic thought, feared the effects of the industrial revolution and the rapid social changes that accompanied industrial growth. The transcendentalist was interested in the self-sufficiency of the individual, and independence from societal constraint, and held an uncompromising belief in divinely santioned personal morality. Human beings, because of their reasoning ability, were capable of ethical and moral behavior that was not regulated by governments and bureaucracies. The faculty of reason allowed man to decide what was "right" and when left alone, she/he would invariably exhibit the appropriate behavior.

When in a state of nature, people were free to act according to personal dictates of conscience. In nature, man was unfettered by the laws of other men, which corrupted because of influences that were not divinely inspired. The state of nature allowed man, without the influences of economics or peer pressure, to decide

questions of justice and humanitarianism. Obviously, the transcendentalist had a very optimistic perception of mankind. Transcendentalism was not a philosophy of the frontier, but rather an ideology that grew and found support in the eastern regions of the United States.

Emerson sympathized with Native Americans but was only slightly influenced by them. He had very little contact with Native peoples, but like many educated easterners, he kept abreast of Indian "problems" by reading the newspaper. In 1838, after the culmination of years of legal struggle, the Cherokees were ordered removed from Georgia. They had exhausted their legal alternatives, and even though Chief Justice John Marshall and the Supreme Court ruled in their favor in Worchester - vs - Georgia (1832), President Jackson ignored the decision and allowed the forced removal to begin.[4] Emerson, upon hearing that the army was to be used to forcibly relocate the Cherokee to Indian Territory, penned a public letter to President Van Buren.

> A crime is projected that confounds our understandings by its magnitude, a crime that really deprives us as well as the Cherokees of the country, for how could we call the conspiracy that should crush these poor Indians our government, or the land that was cursed by their parting and dying imprecations our country, any more?[5]

There can be no doubt that Emerson sympathized with the Cherokee during the removal period, but Native Americans as subject matter had little effect on Emerson's writing. The influence of the American Indian would be imprinted upon Emerson's friend, Henry David Thoreau.

If Emerson is to receive the credit for focusing attention upon the natural environment, then Thoreau must be singled out as one of nature's most elequent spokesmen. Henry David Thoreau, although not a particularly popular writer during his life, would leave a ubiquitous legacy and contribution to contemporary perceptions of nature. It is Thoreau who ultimately receives the accolades of past and present day scholars for providing much of the impetus for the modern conservation movement.

Henry David Thoreau was born in Concord, Massachusetts on July 12, 1817. He was one of four children and the family enjoyed the study of natural history. The family owned a pencil and graphite business, and this opreation provided a degree of financial security to the family. Henry Thoreau attended Concord Academy, one of the better prepatory schools in the east, and eventually entered Harvard in 1833. He met Emerson in 1835, and the friendship blossomed. Thoreau was particularly influenced by the publication of Nature in 1836, and his association with Emerson would prove to be one of the important vehicles to achieve his literary career.

More than any other transcendentialist, Thoreau would exert a major impact upon the developing perception of nature. His contribution to the environmental movement can be traced to the impact of his major publications. In 1849, Thoreau published his now famous essay on civil disobedience, and A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers.

This latter publication would become one of his most frequently quoted naturalist works. The publication of Walden; or, Life in the Woods in 1854, would solidify his reputation as a nature writer. A number of shorter works that were written between 1848 and 1860, would culminate in the publication of The Maine Woods in 1864. These preceding works would become identified as the major nature publications of Thoreau. His focus on the relationship of man to the natural world would have a profound influence on future generations.

Thoreau died in 1862, and his writings have become the acknowledged cornerstone for ecological and conservationist literature. The scholarly debt to Thoreau is frequently alluded to in writings on nature, but until recently the influence of Native peoples upon Thoreau has not been acknowledged. For the most part, the writings of Thoreau are viewed as the result of his elite education and the influences of American thought and letters.

Hans Huth, in Nature and the American, differentiates Thoreau from Emerson and discusses his special contribution to the American perception of nature.

> Emerson engaged in philosophical speculation, whereas Thoreau provided detailed information gathered under the stimulating influences of transcendentalism. And he offered it in a form which he had shaped to suit his needs--the nature essay introduced a new way of presenting information about nature. In them, instead of romantic sentiment, superficial enthusiasm, or a quest for novelty, there is genuine inspiration, realistic style, unfailing perception, and above all a deep feeling for and understanding of every small bit of God's creation. Somehow Thoreau seems to have

> made himself a part of nature and have learned more from it than all the scientific observers had learned by rationalistic study. With his thoughts and observations as an example, Thoreau's followers continued to emulate the nature essay throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.[6]

Huth goes on to discuss the influence of Thoreau upon Nathaniel Hawthorne, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Thomas Starr King, each of whom helped shape the developing perception of nature.[7] Of the prominent nature writers of the second half of the nineteenth century, only John Burroughs disavowed the influence of Thoreau. The egotistical Burroughs, although rejecting the impact of Thoreau, focused on man's harmonious relationship with the environment.[8] Burrough's inflated self-perception often led him to vehemently deny any influence that may discredit his own place in the literature.

Other scholars and naturalists besides Huth have stressed Thoreau's influence. Peter Matthiessen's Wildlife in America attributes the writings of Burroughs, along with Bradford Torrey, and John Muir, to the "tradition of Emerson and Thoreau."[9] Roderick Nash's Wilderness and the American Mind pays homage to Thoreau as one of the prominent pioneers of environmental writing. Nash traces the development of conservationist thought from Thoreau, to John Muir, to Aldo Leopold. The acknowledged contribution of Thoreau has continued to the present day, and has gained strength in recent years. The text of the 1962 Sierra Club publication "In Wildness is the Preservation of the World", which derives its title from Thoreau, is a

collection of exquisite photographs by Eliot Porter, accompanied by the prose of Thoreau.[10] This publication links Thoreau with one of the most prominent conservation/ preservation organizations in the United States. The Sierra Club was founded by John Muir in 1892, and the "club" has extensively used the sentiments of Thoreau to expound on the organizations philosophy.

The role of the transcendentalists on the development of the modern conservation ethic is undeniable. The transcendentalists, by focusing on the natural beauty of the world, and by keen observations of the interdependent nature of the environment, have provided a valuable perspective that will assist man in his future ecological pursuits. Unfortunately though, scholarly attention on the transcendental movement has had the effect of detracting from the influences of Native peoples on the formation of the outdoor ethic. The advent of transcendental writers firmly entrenched nature writing in American elite thought. The transcendentalists were American writers, and they poignantly acknowledged the significance of man's relationship to the natural world in the literature; hence, these developments must have been the product of American genius. This seems to be a logical assumption, but it denies the influences on the transcendentalists that were non-western in origin: namely, the American Indian.

The development of conservationist thought, which has been attributed to the transcendentalists, has perpetuated

a situation whereby it is nearly impossible for any other movement to receive credit for assisting in the evolution of conservationist thought. This can be clearly illustrated by examining the literature of the American West and nature.

Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth, by Henry Nash Smith is a classic example of a major publication that totally relies on American letters and literary precedents when discussing land and perceptions of nature, and it ignores the contributions of Native Americans. Smith's work, published in 1950, is highly regarded in studies of Americana. Virgin Land received prestigious awards from the historical profession: The Bancroft Award in American history from Columbia University, and the John H. Dunning Award in American history from the American Historical Association.[11] Smith depicts the transcendentalists as contributing to the notion of the American West as symbol and myth and as exerting an influence on other writers. Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass, which was published in 1855, is identified as being influenced by Emerson.[12] Moreover, Smith states that, "By 1860 Whitman had become aware that his original assumptions logically implied the western orientation inherent in the cult of manifest destiny."[13] In Virgin Land, the contribution of the transcendentalist is clearly recognized and described, yet even when the concept of Manifest Destiny, which is solidly linked to Native peoples is discussed, there is no mention of Native Americans.

Unfortunately, the transcendentalists and other literary schools receive critical attention at the expense of Native peoples. Smith treats Native Americans as invisible beings, who exert no real influence on the developing perception of the American West. Native Americans are only referred to in contrast to American "heroic" figures such as Kit Carson. They are not presented as the sovereign entities who controlled the American West for generations, but rather as a casual aside to the "progress" of western civilization. Smith describes the American West as, "the vacant continent beyond the frontier".[14] This is a serious distortion of the reality of the American West, and the role of Native peoples who resided there. It is totally unrealistic to consider the American West without bringing Native peoples into the discussion. Smith's text doesn't allude to Native peoples as contributing to the developing perception of the environment, and it completely ignores the enormous literature of the American West that focuses on Indian-White relations. Virgin Land, as the name implies, discusses the history of a vacant continent, as perceived by the ethnocentric historian, and is the product of an unquestioning reliance on American literary traditions. The text fails to incorporate the "symbol and myth" of Native American policy and perceptions of the land.

Roderick Nash's, Wilderness and the American Mind follows in the tradition of Virgin Land.[15] Nash's text,

which is an otherwise excellent work on the American concept of wilderness, only briefly treats Native people. Again, Native peoples are presented as only a footnote to the development of American thought and letters. Nash either describes Native peoples as a terrifying aspect of the wilderness, who exhibit demonic qualities, or as noble savages.[16] He discusses Native Americans as portrayed by Henry David Thoreau, Francis Parkman, James Fenimore Cooper, and George Catlin but ignores the reality of tribal existance. Not once does Nash allude to the influences of Native peoples on the formation of American conservationist thought. Instead, Nash relies on the contributions of prominent American writers and environmental spokesman to develop his subject. This reinforces the "Great Man" school of environmental thought, which highlights only the contributions of writers such as Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, and Aldo Leopold.

These three men are the subject of the three biographical chapters in Nash's text. They have all made enormous contributions to man's perception of the natural environment, but all of these men have come to be strongly aligned with the preservationist philosophy. This is an important point: the preservationists, who envision wilderness as an environment removed from the influence of man, differ significantly from conservationists. Wilderness and the American Mind is really a history of the preservationist movement in America. Nash's bias becomes clear in the

text: he supports the preservationist ideology, and as a result, downplays the role of conservationist movements. This point is crucial, because Native peoples were never preservationists. Native philosophy dictated a utilization of the natural world, and this relationship is perceived as a spiritual bond or contract between the participants of the Creation. Native philosophy, even though it is a distinct view of man-nature relations, is much more compatible with conservationist thought, which advocates an intelligent utilization of the environment.

Nash does not exert a great deal of energy in discussing the conservationist movement. He refers to Gifford Pinchot, one of the most famous proponents of the conservationist school, in the context of the preservationist-conservationist split which occurred in the 1890's. Pinchot represents the conservationist point of view, which is merely a foil used to develop the idea of John Muir's preservationist philosophy.[17] This propensity on the part of Nash to extol the virtures of preservationist philosophy, may be one reason why Native Americans receive such short play in the text. A more logical explanation would be that like Henry Nash Smith, Roderick Nash has been strongly influenced by a literature that has continuously underestimated the role of Native peoples in forming the conservation ethic.

Wilderness and the American Mind clearly supports the idea that American perceptions of the natural environment

were heavily influenced by the transcendentalists. The reiteration of the Thoreau, Muir, Leopold connection places American attitudes in relation to nature in the realm of western letters and science. Aldo Leopold, the well known ecologist and forester, became a strong proponent of wilderness as an important vehicle for scientific study.[18] This reliance on American letters and the evolving concept of science, again fails to acknowledge the role of Native Americans in the formation of American perceptions of wilderness.

The relationship of Henry David Thoreau to Native peoples has been superficially dealt with by Nash. The publication of Robert F. Sayre's, Thoreau and the American Indians, has sought to change this historical interpretation.[19] Sayre's text is a comprehensive examination of the influence of Native peoples upon the writings and environmental interpretations of Thoreau. This work is extremely important because it presents a synthesis of ideas about Native American influences upon Thoreau. The importance of Thoreau and the American Indians rests in the fact that Native peoples had an influence upon what many consider to be the foundations of American environmental thought: the writings of Thoreau.

Sayre's text is strengthened by the examination of Thoreau's "Indian Books." Thoreau, over a period of nineteen years, kept 12 manuscript notebooks on Native Americans. These notebooks contained more than 2,800 pages of

ethnographic information on the American Indian and included personal insights which were gleaned from Thoreau's travels.[20] There has been a great deal of discussion of the possibility that Thoreau intended to write a book about Indians. Franklin Sanborn puts forth this notion in his Life of Henry David Thoreau. Sayre contends that Thoreau was thinking most seriously about this undertaking from "December, 1852, through February, 1858."[21] Thoreau referred to his Indian notes as the "Indian Books", and these manuscripts were used as fact books.

> For all we know, this somewhat ambiguous name may have been partially responsible for people's thinking he planned to write an Indian Book, but "Indian (Commonplace) Books" or "Indian (Fact) Books" is clearly what he meant, as can be seen by comparing them with his various other commonplace books and "Fact Books."[22]

The importance of Thoreau keeping these manuscripts is that these voluminous notes on Native Americans influenced, to some degree, Thoreau's perception of nature.

Sayre has compiled a list of the subjects that Thoreau recorded in the "Indian Books" which is extremely informative in relation to Thoreau's interest in the environment.[23] Thoreau was preoccupied with the culture of indigenous peoples, rather than "with the countless biographies of famous chiefs and the repeated tales of massacres and captivities, of Indian vengeance and white perfidy which were the contents of the popular books."[24] Thoreau's emphasis upon the cultural relations of Native peoples and their subsistence patterns and customs, corrolates to his interests in mans relationship to the land.

Thoreau and the American Indians examines the major works of Thoreau that elucidate the transcendental perception of Nature. Sayre critically evaluates A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers, Walden, the "Indian Books", and The Maine Woods in relation to Native peoples. Sayre prefaces his analysis of these works by devoting chapter one of his study to an examination of the concept of savagism. Savagism postulated that Native peoples would become extinct because of their "heathenistic" tendencies and their rejection of Christianity.

> With its intricate and influential relationships to other American ideas of civilization and manifest destiny, Christianity and the purpose of Europeans in the New World, savagism was the complex of theories about Indians held by nearly all Americans of Thoreau's time. His use of it, his testing of it in various ways, and his eventual liberation from it are the story of this book.[25]

Thoreau's ability to progress beyond the concept of savagism in his understanding of Native peoples is extremely important to establishing Indian influence upon his perceptions of nature.

In A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers, Thoreau presented his experiences and observations, along with philosophical digressions, during a boat trip with his browther John on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers. Sayre contends that, "from a savagist perspective", "It contains a condensed history, in an inferential poetic form, of Indian-European relations in America, as represented in the little corner of northeastern Massachusetts and southern New Hampshire which is the book's microcosm."[26] Native

Americans are not the primary subject in A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers, but are mentioned frequently enough to gain insight into Thoreau's perceptions of Native peoples. In the text, Throeau goes to great lengths to refer to geogrpahic locations by the indigenous language of the New England tribes, often tying Native peoples with the natural pristine qualities of the land.

> In his quest for an American aesthetic, he looks to the original Americans as predecessors who have been superior in some respects and inferior in others. Collectively, these visions and references make up his initial literary savagism. It is drawn from the savagist mythology of other writers, but it is also his own.[27]

A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers presents Native peoples as being a part of the land and the original consciousness of the land. Thoreau expands upon these notions, but is bound by the influence of savagism in his depiction of Native peoples.

In Walden, Thoreau again deals with Native Americans as examples of an unfettered lifestyle which opposes the constraints of "civilization". These notions are obviously cluttered with savagist images and biases, yet, the fact remains, Walden and the mention of Native peoples bears some scrutiny. Sayre analyzes Walden as a Native American "vision quest". The vision quest in Native American groups was used to provide young initiates to adulthood with the opportunity to fast and isolate themselves from society so as to receive or discover the purpose to their life. Sayre is very careful in refuting the idea that Thoreau perceived

of his retreat to Walden as a Native American vision quest.

> Walden, therefore, is the record of the vision quest of a transcendental savage, and I would like to study it in this way, rather than in reference to the European, Puritan, or Emersonian traditions to which it has often been compared. I am not arguing that it corresponds to any particular quest form of American Indians. On the contrary, I will sometimes point out how different it is or how, to some Indians, Thoreau's activities might have seemed very strange or comical, obvious or pathetic. I will simply show how he begins with a primitivist critique of civilization and then attempts wild meditations. Thirdly, I will dwell on some of the visions and discoveries he made, and finally I will describe his renewals, represented in his kind of creation tale. It is a white quest. But it bears comparison with Indian ones because the white fictions of Indian life helped inspire it. Sometimes it penetrates beyond these fictions into truth.[28]

Thoreau's spiritual undertaking may well have had the same effect for him that the vision quest had for Native peoples. He undoubtably strengthened his personal ties with nature and his experiences, while at Walden, would have profound meaning for the rest of his life.

One of the most insightful ties between Thoreau's perception of nature and Native Americans is presented by Sayre's examination of the "Indian Books" and Walden. In the spring of 1852, Thoreau was taking notes on Native American names for the "moons" of the year. It is at this same period of time that Thoreau "began to round out the book's full cycle of the seasons."[29] Sayre contends that:

> The spring of 1852, therefore, was a crucial time in Thoreau's larger conceptions of Walden. At this time, when he was seeing "Indian red" and revisiting the railroad cut, he was also learning the Indian calender. The Journal entry of April 18, 1852, when he records realizing "that the year is a circle", honors the Indian god who played a part in the realization.[30]

Native American names for the months reinforce the cyclic nature of the world. The Moon of Strawberries, Sturgeon Moon, the Moon of the Crusted Snow, etc., not only convey environmentally specific information, but also address renewal and circular patterns of natural events. This concept of utilitarian reference was shared by Thoreau and Native peoples.

The Maine Woods is the work of Thoreau which goes beyond the constraints of savagism. In the three parts of The Maine Woods, "Ktaadn," "Chesuncook," and "The Allegash and East Branch," which were all based on trips to Maine, Thoreau begins to perceive Native peoples as individuals. Sayre states that, "From the standpoint of Thoreau's Indian education, it is, unquestionably, his most important book, "the book about Indians" which he did write."[31] It was on the trips to Maine in 1846, 1853, and 1857, that Throeau began to clarify some of the savagist notions which had shaped his previous thinking and writing. It is through the utilization of Indian guides in Maine, that Thoreau is introduced to individuality of Native Americans, and this requires him to examine "Indians" as complex people rather than make character judgments based on the oversimplified dictates of savagism.

During Thoreau's first trip to Maine, the two Indian guides who are engaged for the trip to Mount Ktaadn failed to appear at the appointed rendezvous. White guides were hired to lead the party in their climb of Ktaadn, and

Thoreau was deprived of an "Indian experience" in the woods of Maine. Many of his comments while he is engaged in the business of procurring the guides, present Native peoples in the savagist tradition. In "Ktaadn", Thoreau is guilty of making pan-Indian generalization and stereotyping the Indians that he encounters. The use of alcohol, and the impact of "civilization" upon Native peoples is commented upon by Thoreau as leading to the extermination of indigenous peoples. The supposition that Native peoples were disappearing was one of the key concepts in savagism. Thoreau's use of "cliches", in reference to Native peoples, is addressed by Sayre.

> Such cliches and stock responses come, as we have seen, from the most hackneyed commentary on the Indian plight. They seem sympathetic, but there is no understanding. They shift the burden of guilt to the Indians themselves or the French missionaries, and they set up the peculiar logic of savagism and civilization. Drunken or Catholic Indians are bad because they are improperly civilized; dancing or torturing ones are bad because they are too savage. To say that the latter are"more respectable" is idle.[32]

Thoreau's impressions of Native peoples would undergo extensive revision in his subsequent trips to Maine.

In 1853, Thoreau returned to Maine, and this time procurred the services of an Indian guide, Joe Aitteon, a Penobscot, to direct the party's river trips and selection of camp sites. This was Thoreau's first opportunity to spend time traveling with an Indian guide, observing his behavior and interacting with him. It is this personal intercourse that is instrumental in Thoreau's rejection of

the tenets of savagism. Interestingly enough, some of Thoreau's more romantic ideals come into conflict with the realities of Native American "wilderness" utilization practices. Thoreau comments on the killing of a cow moose by Aitteon and Thoreau's cousin, which almost eluded the hunters after being wounded. Thoreau called the butchering of the moose, "tragical business", and adopts an anti-hunting stance on sport hunting, and even subsistence hunting by those that have other alternatives for providing food for their families. "He further objects to all the hunting he has seen in Maine, however, because it is a courser use of nature than the philosopher's, artist's, or poet's."[33]

It was near the conclusion of the 1853 trip that Thoreau had his most intimate contact with a group of Native peoples. Thoreau and his traveling companion, George Thatcher, along with Joe Aitteon, spent the night with Indian hunters who are camped near Moosehead Lake. The Thoreau party had the choice of camping with local lumber camp residents, or the Indians. Thoreau opted for the Indian camp. Sayre contends that, "The choice is the more remarkable because the Indians had been out two months and killed twenty-two moose."[34] Throughout the night and the next morning, Thoreau was privy to the reality of what and who Native peoples were. Humorous stories were told, historical information was shared, and the indigenous place names for the land were exchanged. It was through this

conversation that Thoreau began to understand the complexity of the Native American as an individual, thus freeing himself from the ideological strait-jacket of savagism. Sayre states that:

> We can see the change in Thoreau's attitudes from the sense of his different responses to the old bugaboo for cleanliness and coarseness and his more diverse portraits of the Indians he met from here on.[35]

The influences of Native peoples that were free from savagist conotations were beginning to surface.

It is on Thoreau's final trip to Maine in the summer of 1857 that the clearest depiction of a Native American is developed. Joe Polis, a Penobscot, was selected to guide Thoreau and Ed Hoar on an extensive river trip into the interior of Maine. Thoreau's description of Polis in "The Allegash and East Branch" is clarified by Sayre.

> Joe Polis, the guide, is also the most complex of Thoreau's Indian characters, indeed, the most fully developed person (after the author himself) to appear anywhere in Thoreau's writing. As Jim in Huckleberry Finn is the most realistic black portrait by a white writer in nineteenth-century American literature, Joe Polis is the most realistic and attractive Native American.[36]

Polis was a man of the woods with extensive experience and personal skills. He was an accomplished hunter and trapper, but was much more complex than Thoreau had initially assumed. Polis was a protestant, who was devout in his beliefs, and he was also engaged in real estate deals and labor management practices in the operation of his potato farm.[37] Many of these characteristics of Polis tended to contradict the stereotypic ideas that Thoreau had about Native peoples.

On the trip into the interior, it is Polis who emerges as the "leader" of the expedition. Even though he is in the employ of Thoreau and Hoar, Polis becomes the bond which holds the party together and prevents any serious mishaps. On more than one occasion, Polis must find Thoreau and Hoar, who are lost.[38] Sayre alludes to Thoreau's "initiation" to the forest, via the teachings of and expertise of Joe Polis, but it is the humor and individuality of Polis that begins to exert an influence upon Thoreau. Polis, unlike the "stoic Indian" of savagism, enjoys a good joke and conversation, and it is this "discovery" of the social nature of Native peoples that undermines Thoreau's preconceptions about Native Americans.[39]

It is interesting to note that Thoreau did not refer to Polis by name in "The Allegah and East Branch." Only infrequently did Thoreau describe Polis by his given name, but rather he referred to him as "the Indian" throughout most of the book. This fact may reflect the difficulty that Thoreau had in discarding the years of acquired societal biases about Native Americans.

> The imperfections in Thoreau's portrait of Polis are not as gross as these, but they may have come from similar misconceptions in European and American imaginations. A journey into the wilderness with an Indian, was an exploration of the unknown interior-inferior. In the journey, conditions changed; the Indian became the guide, the white men the initiates. But in reporting it, conditions changed again. The memory and the audience saw the polis-Island as part of the Indian-Main.[40]

Thoreau may have been compelled to describe "the Indian in

terms that were readily accepted by his contemporaries, but he had undergone a personal catharsis because of his extensive contact with Native Americans.

Thoreau's studies of Native peoples, and more importantly, his contact with his Indian guides in Maine, influenced his perception of the environment and man's relationship to it. To a certain extent, Thoreau had freed himself from the constraints of savagism in his observations and interactions with individual Native Americans. Thoreau perceived the utility of the environmentally specific knowledge of the diverse groups of Native peoples, and offered this information as a positive addition to the growing scientific literature of nature.

> For years Indian names and stories had enhanced his walks and discoveries. First treating as a foolish superstition the Indian belief that the world was a turtle's back, he had nevertheless gone on to observe turtles more closely and to see the truth. Now Rasles' dictionary held out the promise of renaming and reconstruction of all that he knew. He seems to have been eager to share his excitement, for there is a record in the journal of John Langdon Sibley, the Librarian at Harvard, of a long conversation with Thoreau in May 1858. "Today (Thoreau) enlarged to me somewhat on the mistakes of men of science in not giving more attention to the Indians and their languages and habits. In relation to geology, botany, zoology, &c., they stand between the men of science and the subjects which they study." Thoreau talked of how he was using the insights in the language, as learned from Polis and Rasles' dictionary, and how Polis could hear "a little whistle" made by snakes and imitate the notes and sounds of musquash and other animals. The Indian name for the pout, Thoreau said, was descriptive of the fish's habit of leading its young as a hen does its chickens - something Thoreau had noticed but seen in no books.[41]

There is little doubt that Native peoples had an influence on the environmental perceptions of Thoreau.

Native peoples acted as the guides, not only for Thoreau's physical wanderings in the woods of Maine, but for his inner search for an understanding of place and psyche. Man's relationship to the land had to be learned, and it was Native peoples who taught Thoreau that the artist's brush and the author's pen were not the "highest" use of nature, but rather the hunter's eye and keen senses which take in everything, even if it is not stalked and killed. The basis of man's interaction to the land was tied to the "circle" which Thoreau had inadventantly stumbled into while researching Native American languages, and the fact that a personal bond exists between man and nature. The world could only be understood in an experiential manner, as Thoreau had done, and even then he but scratched the surface. Yet, through his readings and studies of Native peoples, in particular his Maine guides, he came to know "Indians" as people, and the very basic truth that there is a "related-ness" of each individual to the Creation. Upon his death-bed, Thoreau was asked by his Aunt Louisa if he had "made his peace with his maker"; he replied, "I did not know we had every quarrelled."[42] Thoreau had never argued with the Creation, only with those who did not recognize the inherent beauty and relatedness of all things.

Native American philosophy, place names, and environmentally specific knowledge had a role in the formation of the land ethic that was developed by the Transcendentalist writers. This relationship has not been acknowledged in

the literature of conservationist-preservationist thought. The Transcendentalist writers have exerted a tremendous impact on the elite literature of America. This focus on elite writings, as they relate to the development of conservationist philosophy, negates the existance of a popular movement that also assisted in the formation and dissemination of environmental ethics and practical considerations as they relate to the land. This popular movement, which relied heavily upon Native American philosophy, was spearheaded by George Bird Grinnell, Ernest Thompson Seton, Charles Alexander Eastman, Hamlin Garland, Archie Belaney (Grey Owl), Dr. Saxton Pope and Ishi, to name a few. John Muir, the heir to the Thoreau legacy, was also a part of the popular movement, but his preservationist tendencies separated him from the conservationists, who were much more closely aligned with Native American philosophy. Gifford Pinchot was also at the forefront of the conservationist movement, although his contributions were mostly on the policy level of resource management, and not strongly tied to Native peoples. It is through an examination of the popular movements and literature that assisted in developing an ethical relationship between man and nature that the significant role of Native American philosophy can be readily discerned.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

[1]Hans Huth. Nature and the American: Three Centuries of Changing Attitudes. Berekley: University of California Press, 1957, p. 88.

[2]Ibid. p. 88.

[3]Ibid. p. 88.

[4]Ronald N. Satz. American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975, p. 49.

[5]Robert F. Sayre. Thoreau and the American Indians. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977, p. 23.

[6]Op. Cit. Huth, p. 95.

[7]Ibid. p. 95-101.

[8]Ibid. p. 103.

[9]Peter Matthiessen. Wildlife in America. New York: The Viking Press, 1967, p. 178.

[10]Henry David Thoreau with photogrpahs by Eliot Porter. "In Wilderness is the Preservation of the World." San Francisco: The Sierra Club, 1962.

[11]Henry Nash Smith. Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth. New York: Vintage Books, 1950, biogrpahical statement on author.

[12]Ibid. p. 47.

[13]Ibid. p. 48.

[14]Ibid. p. 4.

[15]Roderick Nash. Wilderness and the American Mind. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.

[16]Ibid. p. 36-37 and p. 65.

[17]Ibid. p. 134.

[18]Ibid. p. 198.

[19]Op. Cit. Sayre.

[20]Ibid. p. 110.

[21]Ibid. p. 118.

[22]Ibid. p. 106.

[23]Ibid. p. 120.

[24]Ibid. p. 121.

[25]Ibid. p. 3.

[26]Ibid. p. 28.

[27]Ibid. p. 29-30.

[28]Ibid. p. 63.

[29]Ibid. p. 99.

[30]Ibid. p. 99.

[31]Ibid. p. 155.

[32]Ibid. p. 161.

[33]Ibid. p. 33.

[34]Ibid. p. 170.

[35]Ibid. p. 172.

[36]Ibid. p. 172.

[37]Ibid. p. 174-54.

[38]Ibid. p. 178-79.

[39]Ibid. p. 183.

[40]Ibid. p. 187.

[41]Ibid. p. 191.

[42]Ibid. p. 214.

CHAPTER IV

NATIVE AMERICAN INFLUENCES ON THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT

The presence of a popular movement influenced by the diverse aspects of Native American philosophy is extremely important in the development of the contemporary conservation ethic. Popular movements, in contrast to elite traditions, have a much broader appeal and impact on populations. As an example, consider the widespread dissemination of popular literature - vs - elite writing. Popular paperbacks are frequently read by hundreds of thousands of people, whereas Henry James' The Portrait of a Lady is predominantly read in literature classes and does not have a widespread popular appeal.

Popular movements emerged in full bloom in the middle part of the nineteenth century, and constituted a major shift in the definition of cultural traditions. Affluent society would no longer dictate cultural preferences and the "masses" of American society would become consumers of art forms and popular literature. John Cawelti provides a working definition of popular in "Popular Culture Studies."

> Popular can mean that which is most used, purchased, enjoyed or practiced by a large number of people. But popular can also refer to the culture of non-elite groups.

Outdoor writing, youth publications, and short stories would become extremely popular vehicles for conveying Native American influences to non-Indian audiences. Russel B. Nye, in The Unembarrassed Muse, describes the formalization of the popular movement.

> The appearance of the popular artistic tradition, therefore, derives from a shift - initiated in the eighteenth century and completed during the nineteenth - from the patronage of the arts by the restricted upper class to the support offered by a huge, virtually unlimited, middle-class audience, within the context of great technological, social and political change. Modern mass society was fully formed by the middle of the nineteenth century; the modern mass media, in various stages of development, already provided the dominant forms of communication. Popular culture developed with it. The twentieth century established both more securely.

Native American contributions to the formation of the modern conservation ethic were included in the popular literary movements of the nineteenth and twentieth century.

This fact is often overlooked, and this may be one reason why Native peoples have not received attention as major contributors to the formation of the conservation ethic as it exists today. Native philosophy, as a precursor to the development of the conservation ethic, has been almost totally ignored in elite publications. Even though a close examination of the elite literature exposes the contribution of Native Americans, the role of Native peoples is seriously underestimated. This is not necessarily true in the context of the "popular literature" and movements at the turn of the twentieth century.

There are a number of key people, who at the turn of this century, participated in the growth of the conservation movement. John Muir, Gifford Pinchot, and Charles Sprague Sargent would all leave lasting marks and would have an acknowledged position in the history of the movement. Muir, the prophet of preservationists, would receive tremendous attention in the late nineteenth century for his literary works on the environment, and his unwavering attachment to and work on behalf of Yosemite, California. Pinchot, the father of "scientific" forestry, was an avowed conservationist and championed intelligent utilization of the natural resources. The philosophical differences between Muir and Pinchot lead to an ideological split between the preservationists and the conservationists in the early twentieth century. Stephen Fox characterized Muir and Pinchot in John Muir and his Legacy.

> In his quarrels with utilitarian conservationists, Muir was called sentimental, softheaded, for speaking of the intangibles while his adversaries talked in political terms of material resources and jobs. It was elitist esthetes, Pinchot might say, against democracy and progress. Yet, in sheer numbers Muir represented a larger constituency. The utilitarians were better organized and more intent, with more money and livelihoods at stake. They had more political power. The preservationists, though more numerous, made up a relatively inchoate, nebulous bloc, lacking the goad of practical self-interest.[1]

This statement, while accurately stating the basis of the developing schism, incorrectly assumes that the preservationists were in the majority. The preservationists, and particularly Muir, were alienating numerous "sporting men" because of their anti-hunting stance. Hunters aligned

themselves with the conservationists, which was the logical thing to do in self-interest. The conservationist groups, which had broad support from sporting organizations, vastly outnumbered the preservationists.

One has only to consider the reality of the sporting climate at the turn of the twentieth century. Hunting was an important aspect of survival for many families in rural areas. Unfortunately, game populations were at all time lows because of over hunting, and the lack of hunting regulations. It is important to note that at this time, excepting personal codes, there was no hunting or land ethic. If there would have been, the rise in hunting regulations would have been unnecessary. Stephen Fox, in John Muir and his Legacy clearly addresses this issue in a discussion of hunting behavior and animal populations at 1913.

> Now there were more hunters - some three million - and fewer animals. Some species have been wiped out. The gun companies, moreover, kept improving their products. Instead of the old single- or double-barreled shotgun, hunters now might use automatic weapons that could deliver six shots in as many seconds. Halfway solutions such as bag limits or limited seasons would not suffice. The choice was simple: long closed seasons or a continent with no game.[2]

Hunting was becoming a difficult pursuit because of the lack of game, and the decline in animal populations began to influence the thinking and actions of sportsmen. The formation of many sporting organizations resulted from the significant reduction of game animals on the North American continent. The rapid increase in state and federal hunting regulations accompanied the formation of many local

conservation organizations. This was, for the most part, both a rural and urban phenomena. Many urban centers had large populations of hunters who had the resources to become active in conservation efforts. Even if hunters did not participate in conservationist organizations, they most certainly opposed preservationist philosophy because it impinged on what they considered to be their right: the taking of game.

Even though Muir and Pinchot had their differences, the prospect of enlightened concern for the environment was better off because of the efforts of these men. Pinchot, who founded under the Theodore Roosevelt administration, the U.S. Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture, at times did represent or facilitate an exploitive conservationism. Pinchot championed the cause of western stockmen to be allowed to graze their animals in the National Forests. Pinchot may have worked on behalf of the western stockmen to solidify political relations between those western interests and the Roosevelt administration.[3] Pinchot was a politician and policy maker, as well as being a competent forester who favored the utilization of natural resources. He in no way though, represented a popular view. Pinchot, in his autobiography, Breaking New Ground, paid homage to the conservation practices of Native Americans which would influence popular perceptions of the environment.

> Curiously enough, waste and destruction had not always been rampant throughout America. Long before the white man came, certain tribes of Algonquin Indians had learned the wisdom of dividing their tribal hunting grounds into family-sized parcels in which none but family members had the right to hunt or fish. These family parcels descended from father to son. In them the game was kept account of, closed years for certain kinds were sometimes established, and killing was strictly regulated within the limits of natural increase.
>
> Centuries before the Conservation policy was born, here was Conservation practice at its best. The natural resources on which these Indians depended for their very life, as you and I depend on natural resources for ours, were being handled with foresight and intelligence. So far as game was concerned, their future was secure.
>
> It seems almost impossible that the early settlers should have escaped all knowledge of this native wisdom. But if they failed to learn foresight from the Indians, they did bring European traditions of forest preservation with them to America.[4]

Based on past history and resource exploitation, it seems quite unclear what Pinchot was referring to by "European traditions of forest preservation." Pinchot's remarks are very similar to those of Frank G. Speck, when he observed the hunting practices and social life of some Algonkian groups in the early twentieth century.

> Economically these family territories were regulated in a very interesting manner. The game was kept account of very closely, so that the proprietors knew about how abundant each kind of animal was, and hence could regulate the killing so as not to deplete the stock. Beaver were made the object of the most careful "farming", the numbers of occupants, old and young, to each "cabin" being kept count of. In certain districts, moose, or caribou, were protected during one year, and other districts the next year. The killing of game was regulated by each family according to its own rules.[5]

It was John Muir, much more so than Pinchot, who initiated a semipopular environmental movement. His early

publications were extensively read in popular magazines, but he did not represent the interests of most sportsmen who were hunters and fishermen. Statistical evidence illustrates the point that Muir's preservationist philosophies did not constitute the "popular" movement. In 1975, there were 1,217,600 nationwide members in the five major conservatoin groups in the United States, yet in 1966, there were only 439,400 members in these same organizations.[6] A portion of that membership are hunters, and are not in agreement with the prepetuated anti-hunting stance of Muir and like-minded preservationists. If only one-third of the membership of these organizations are hunters, which is a minimal estimate, there would be in excess of 800,000 members of these organizations that could be considered preservationists.[7] Yet, the State of Michigan, in 1975, issued 799,424 individual deer licenses,[8] and nationwide in 1981 there were 16,638,584 hunting licenses purchased.[9] When John Muir was publishing the majority of his writings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, hunting was an important subsistence activity for many families. Hunting and fishing, at the turn of the century, were much more necessary pursuits than they are today. By projecting the current hunter-preservationist ratio back in time, to a period when hunting was an imperative activity, it can be inferred that the preservationists then, did not outnumber sportsmen, and hunters in particular. Muir's brand of preservationism appealed to the more affluent

citizens, who were well educated, and who did not need to depend on the environment for a living or cost savings. Even though Muir did not represent the larger popular movements that were beginning in conservationist thought, he still acknowledged the role of Native Americans as prototype conservationists.

John Muir rebelled against the Christian perception of nature, and found his future and solace in an environmental view that accomadated purpose and life for all beings. This philosophy is strikingly similar to Native American philosophies which do not preclude any living beings from participating within the cycle of life.

> Christian man also sorted out the rest of the natural world according to his own tastes: thus alligators were indicated as ugly and ravenous, and useless to man. Could these two conditions be connected? Did Christian man approach the natural world in a spirit of arrogant manipulation because nothing else had a soul, nothing else was so loved by the Christian version of God? "Doubtless these creatures are happy", Muir wrote of alligators, "and fill the place assigned them by the Creator as usual. Fierce and cruel they appear to us, but beautiful in the eyes of God....How narrow we selfish, conceited creatures are in our sympathies! How blind to the rights of all the rest of creation!"[10]

Muir also commented that, "to the Indian mind all nature was instinct with deity."[11]

Whether or not Native American beliefs and practices influenced Muir and Pinchot is conjectural, but the fact remains that positive Native American adaptations and philosophic tenets were acknowledged by these prominent men. It is interesting to note though, that while Native Americans were regulating their own hunting practices to

sustain animal populations, non-indian hunters had to be externally regualted to insure the survival of many game species, particularly the larger hoofed mammals on the North American continent.

Muir and Pinchot did not represent or typify the popular movements in conservation reform. This task was undertaken by men who have not received adequate attention for their enormous contributions to the development of popular environmental attitudes. George Bird Grinnell, Ernest Thompson Seton, Archie Belaney (Grey Owl), Dr. Charles Alexander Eastman, Hamlin Garland, James Willard Schultz, Ishi and Dr. Saxton Pope, to name a few, had a ubiquitous influence on the development of popular images of the environment and the outdoor ethic. These men also had regular contact with Native Americans, and that contact assisted in the formation of conservationist ideals. Dr. Charles Alexander Eastman and Ishi were Native Americans. Eastman was a Santee Sioux (Lakota), and Ishi was a Yahi from Northern California, and his story has been popularized because he was the last surviving member of that group. He was "captured" in northern California in 1911, and was heralded as "the last stoneage man" in North America. The discovery of Ishi received a great deal of publicity, much more so than his enormous contributions to the growth of bow hunting in this country.

Each of these men made a significant contribution to the popular perception and understanding of the natural

world. Their contributions were diverse; from forming conservation groups to organizing boys and girls camps, yet their activities had one thing in common: they were influenced by extensive contact with Native American populations. Not only were these men influenced by their contact with Native Americans on environmental issues, but they were advocates on behalf of Native American populations. Stephen Fox indicts conservationists for their casual relationship to Native peoples.

> In another sense, conservationists' interests in Indians was curiously manipulative and vicarious. Few conservationists dealt with actual living Indians, or listened to their problems in a white man's world, or helped them maintain the old ways of which conservationists spoke so reverently. Grinnell did campaign for Indian rights, but even he hoped the reservations would be broken up and the Indians dispersed into white society.[12]

This statement is basically true, but clarification of George Bird Grinnell's motives and actions is needed.

George Bird Grinnell was one of the most outspoken advocates of Native Americans in the latter part of the nineteenth century. He had extensive contact with Native peoples in the American West, which resulted form his participation with the Marsh expedition of 1870. Grinnell returned to the west in 1872, and accompanied the 1874 Custer expedition into the Black Hills, and Grinnell also traveled with the Ludlow expedition of 1875, which was charged with surveying Yellowstone National Park. Grinnell was selected as the naturalist for the expedition because of his experience and writings in the areas of zoology and

palentology. In 1880, Grinnell completed his Ph.D. in Zoology at Yale, and in the same year, he became the editor of Forest and Stream.[13]

Grinnell was extremely ethnocentric in his view of the differences between Native and western cultures, yet, over time, because of extensive contact with Native peoples in the west, he began to understand the very complicated nature of cultural interaction between Indians-whites in the American West. In an editorial on the front page of the November 26, 1885, Forest and Stream, entitled, "Where We Stand", (on the Indian question), George Bird Grinnell was introduced to the readership of that publication.

> The editorials on this subject in Forest and Stream are written by one who professes to occupy a middle ground between the sentimentalist on the one side and the Indian haters on the other. He has for the past fifteen years met with the Indians under a great variety of conditions. He has lived with them for months at a time, eating of their food and sleeping in their lodges; he has heard their hostile bullets sing, and more than once has depended on his pony's speed and the irresolution of his pursuers. He knows the Indians in their agencies, in their camps and on their battlefields, and is thoroughly familiar with their modes of thought, and the views they hold with regard to their own position and that of the whites.[14]

When Grinnell made any decision in relation to Native peoples, he was attempting to insure fairness in the dealings between cultures. He knew the realities of Indian-white relations and conflicts, and fully realized that the interests of Native peoples must be protected until they understood the workings of a complicated and sometimes unjust society.

This can be clearly illustrated by an editorial which was undoubtedly penned by Grinnell in the January 7, 1886 edition of Forest and Stream. The editorial, entitled, "THE INDIANS' LANDS", is well written and insightful, as it sets forth its opposition to allotting Indian lands. This procedure would become law in 1887, with the passage of the Dawes Act or as it is sometimes referred to, the General Allotment Act. Grinnell's early opposition to the Allotment policy is intriguing because well known Native American activists such as Sherman Coolidge, Carlos Montezuma, and Charles Alexander Eastman initially favored the allotment policy. Obviously, these prominent Native Americans had acquired the biases of their "civilized" education: both Eastman and Montezuma were physicians, and Coolidge was a college educated minister. They believed that the only hope for the future of the Native American was to adopt "civilized" ways, the quicker the better. Eastman would eventually recant his tenstimony in favor of "civilized" life, and profess the superiority of Native traditions over western life-styles.

In the editorial, Grinnell points out the numerous shortcomings of the proposed allotment policy.

> A new project for the amelioration of the condition of the Indians is now in high favor. It is a kind of patent plan, which is to civilize the Indians and make them self-supporting -- if he survives its adoption. It is advocated with a little qualification by Gen. Sheridan.[15]

Grinnell points out the fallacious reasoning behind the proposal which intends to allot 320 acres to Indian

families and sell the surplus lands at $1.25 per acre. The majority of lands could not be sold, because they were nothing but "dry uplands, the arid sage plains and the rough and rocky mountains sides", and if sold they would not be worth $1.25 per acre. This is an important notion, since the idea behind the allotment policy was to sell surplus lands to raise the money to fund the Indian appropriations. The proceeds from the sale of surplus land were to be invested in government bonds and the annual income from those bonds would fund the Indian service. Of course, this would be accomplished while Native Americans were being assimilated into Christian-farmer roles. Grinnell continues to find fault with the proposal.

> Moreover, the income mentioned would not support the Indians. The beggarly appropriation made by Congress sufficed up to two or three years ago, but they are sufficient no longer. Up to that time there were some buffalo left, and a good deal of smaller game, on which the Indians subsisted. Now all the game is gone except a few grouse, prairie dogs and sand rats, and the Indians must have government food or starve. For the last two or three years a great many of them have starved.[16]

Grinnell goes on to explain the "covetous glances" that are being focused on the better poritons of the Indian reservations, and the fact that reservations and Indian land holdings are continually being invaded by "supposed settlers, who coolly defy the proclamations of the President."

> Their lands should not be allotted to the Indians in severalty unless it can be shown that such a plan will result beneficially to those people. The time will come, and we trust soon, when this may be done; but it has not come yet. The proposition to allot the land in severalty takes it for granted that the

> land holders would be able to manage farms and to use them at least as a partial means of support. This is not true at present, nor can it be for years.[17]

Grinnell did hope that Indians would eventually be dispersed across society at large, but held strong concerns about how and when this could be accomplished. He certainly did not advocate pushing Native peoples into the mainstream because he intimately knew the Plains tribes, and realized that they were not ready to assume the trappings and ideologies that would be expected of them as implied in the allotment policy.

Grinnell was not exempt from ethnocentric comments or observations. In his concluding remarks to the January 7 article, Grinnell states:

> Immediate contact with the white man the wild Indian cannot survive. He must be protected from himself until he has made some progress toward the self-control which is a distinguishing character of civilized people. It will be time enough to turn him adrift to take part unaided in the struggle for existance, when he has learned in part the lesson of civilized life. These savage descendants of barbarous sires are the weaker race. Put into competition with the whites they must perish unless a helping hand is extended to them. In such a struggle the weaker must go to the wall. It is a law of life that the fittest shall survive.[18]

One is forced to wonder about the sincerity with which these words were written. Did Grinnell truly believe what he intimates, or was he simply pulling the wool over the eyes of his eastern "liberal" readers? I tend to favor the latter explanation. Grinnell is playing on the sympathies of eastern "friends" to gain their support and assistance on the allotment matter. He is telling his

readers what they have come to believe as true, yet something that he does not accept himself. A highly polished literary strategy for gaining allies, and nothing more.

This can be substantiated to some extent by examining the contacts that Grinnell had with the Pawnee, Cheyenne, or Blackfoot, and his impressions of them as people. Accompanying the Marsh expedition of 1870, Grinnell admitted that he was a "Pilgrim". Grinnell was born and raised in New York City, and had very few outdoor skills until he travelled to the west with Marsh. He attended the Churchill Military School beginning in 1863.and graduated from that academy in 1886. It was in the fall of that year, with the assistance of tutors, that he passed the entrance exam and entered the freshmen class at Yale.[19] Grinnell had extensive contact with the Audubon family, who lived next door to the Grinnells in Audubon Park. The naturalist, John James Audubon, had been dead for six years when the Grinnells acquired their property. George Bird became very good friends with the Audubon grandchildren, and "Grandma" Audubon, the naturalist's widow, was to have a profound effect on the young Grinnell.[20] There was little experience in Grinnell's early years that would prepare him for his trip to the west in 1870, and Grinnell eventually commented on the general ineptness of the 1870 party.

> Everyday Major North took ahead with him one of the young men, who he permitted to shoot at antelope. No member of the party killed anything, which is not surprising in view of the fact that none of us knew anything about hunting or rifle shooting...As a result,

> it was "Major North and the Indians (who) kept us supplied with fresh meat."[21]

Grinnell had to acquire his skills and knowledge from the Pawnee scouts who were hired to guide the expedition. Grinnell became a highly regarded hunter and outdoorsman, but his initial lessons were at the hands of military men, who had been taught by Indian scouts, or by Indians themselves.

Grinnell eventually became closely allied with the Blackfoot and the Cheyenne. In 1897, while visiting the Blackfoot reservation, Hamlin Garland heard a great deal about George Bird Grinnell. He was asked to transcribe letters for the Indians and present them to Grinnell, who had become a friend as well as an ethnographer of the Blackfoot.[22] Grinnell was also well known to others who resided with the Blackfoot. James Willard Schultz, who lived with the Blackfoot for many years and was married to a Piegan woman, Nat-ah-ki, wrote to Grinnell for assistance in 1882. Schultz was living with his Blackfoot wife near the reservation and heard from various sources about the devastating conditions for the tribe and the lack of food which was causing starvation. During the winter of 1882-83 conditions became worse, and many of the Blackfoot died. Schultz was moved to action upon finding out how badly the tribe needed immediate assistance.

> A thought had suddenly struck me which I at once put into execution. I sat down and wrote a letter to a New York man with whom I had had some correspondence, but had never met, explaining fully the

> sad plight the Blackfeet were in. My story in due time reached a sympathetic hand, and I was told to go on up to the agency and write an account of what I saw there. Unknown to me this gentleman had ridden several trials in the West and had formed a different opinion of Indians from what most white men have.[23]

The gentleman Schultz referred to could be none other than George Bird Grinnell. An investigation was eventually initiated, and an inspector from the Bureau of Indian Affairs relieved the agent who had allowed five hundred and fifty-five Blackfoot to starve to death. This was nearly one-fourth of the existing Blackfoot Nation.[24]

In 1885, Grinnell visited the Piegan (Blackfoot) agency, the Piegan being a sub-tribe of the Blackfoot Nation, and probably visited with Schultz.[25] The October 22, 1885 edition of Forest and Stream included an article entitled, "Indians at Work." The article described the Piegan agency, and commented on the work projects that were ongoing at the reservation, and the children at their studies at the agency school.

> Why should they sing so enthusiastically for the Red, White and Blue, which robbed them of their land and of their subsistence, and made them paupers, living on its charity and tenets on sufferance of so small a portion of the country that was once all their own. To think of what has been and what is seemed to me inexpressibly sad.[26]

This editorial was signed Yo, which was a nickname which George Bird Grinnell frequently used, or was referred to by.[27] The appearance of two articles by J.W. Schultz in the September 2, 1886 issue of Forest and Stream corroborates this connection between James Willard Schultz and Grinnell.

The stories were ethnographical in nature and dealt with arrow making and bird stories, and of course, they focused on the Blackfoot.

To further substantiate the realtionship between Grinnell and Schultz is the fact that Schultz's book, My Life As An Indian, was printed in serial form in Forest and Stream. In the 1907 edition, which was published by John Murray in London, George Bird Grinnell added the following editorial note:

> The chapters of this volume were published serially in "Forest and Stream" under the title "In the Lodges of the Blackfeet" and over the pseudonym W.B. Anderson. The title page now bears the author's real name. Not only is the story a true one, but many of the characters still live, though to-day under conditions as different as though centuries had intervened.[28]

It is interesting that Schultz used a psuedonym to initially publish his material, which was undoubtably edited by Grinnell. It is likely that Schultz feared repercussions from his work by the agency officials upon the Blackfeet people.

The above information, in conjunction with the numerous other articles that George Bird Grinnell wrote on behalf of Native Americans, negates some of the ethnocentrism that seemed implicit in his plea to hold off the allotment policy. Much of what he said was a rhetorical device to help liberals feel righteous about paternalistic practices. As a scientist, Grinnell may have fully believed in the survival of the fittest, but he had interacted with enough Native Americans to perceive the utility of cooperation.

Between 1885 and 1887, Grinnell authored numerous articles (editorials) on Native Americans that appeared in Forest and Stream. He advocated Indian education, condemned the practices of the Indian service in the contracting procedures that were handled by civilians, issued pleas for assistance to starving Chippewas at Leach Lake, criticized the reduced appropriations for Indian affairs and the reduction of game populations around reservations by non-Indian hunters.[29] Grinnell also exposed a plan to remove the Puyallup Nation to another location so that their lands could be sold. Secretary of the Interior, H.M. Teller, considered this plan until it was exposed and criticized. "But the action of this cabinet officer is a fair example of the shameful course of fraud and oppression carried on by the government toward the Indians."[30] When George Bird Grinnell wrote those words, he was not belittling Native peoples as "savages", rather he was dealing with the facts why Native Americans should not receive their property in fee-simple patent. He knew, along with many others, that Native peoples stood little chance of retaining their holdings from the avarice of politicians and special interest groups.

Grinnell's loudest and most prolonged public harangue involved the Crow Reservation and the cattle industry. A number of Crow leaders had brought the matter of trespassing by non-Indian cattlemen on reservation lands to Grinnell's attention. In an article entitled, "Capture

of the Crow Reserve," which appeared in the June 17, 1886 Forest and Stream, Grinnell exposed the trespass issue, which was being santioned by the Crow agent.[31] The agent was issuing permits to cattlemen to graze animals on the Crow Reservation, even though there were no laws on the books that allowed this action. In another article which appeared one week later, Grinnell continued his attack on the agent and the Interior Department. Leases could be issued to cattlemen to graze reservation lands, but not one of the cattlemen who was grazing animals on the Crow Reservation had a lease. The cattlemen were simply trespassing, and this action was still being condoned by the Crow agent. Grinnell, in still another article, advocated that the federal government send an inspector to interview the Crow Chiefs: Plenticous, Bobtail Crow, Bear Wolf, Spotted Horse, and Deaf Bull to get to the bottom of the trespass issue. This request was made by a man who knew and respected the character of the old "long hairs" of the Crow Nation. All too frequently, when conflicts arose between Indians and whites, officials handled the problems without consulting Native Americans.

While advocating the causes of Native Americans, Grinnell also formed the Audubon Society in 1886. This society, dedicated to the protection of wild birds in nesting areas, was named after the late John James Audubon, and his wife, whom Grinnell greatly admired. In early 1888, Grinnell, along with Theodore Roosevelt, formed the

Boone and Crockett Club and this organization became the forerunner of conservation groups across the nation. The organization was comprised of large game hunters who were deeply concerned about the slaughter of game animals on the continent, and they were committed to an intelligent use of game resources. The Boone and Crockett Club, in their by-laws, proposed "to work for the preservation of the large game of this country", but eventually fought for the establishment of Yellowstone Park, supported the forest reserve system, and supported legislation which prohibited hunting deer in the water. The Club also originated the idea of game refuges, and "caused to be introduced" legislation which established Glacier National Park.[32] They were not total preservationists, in any sense of the word, and were antagonistic towards groups who advocated complete restriction of human intervention in all wildlife areas. Theodore Roosevelt was the first president of the organization, and Archibald Rogers was the secretary. Founding members included: George Bird Grinnell, Albert Bierstadt, Heber R. Bishop, Benj. F. Bristow, J. Coleman Drayton, D.G. Elliott, Arnold Hague, James H. Jones, Clarence King, W.H. Merrill, Jr., Thomas Paton, John Hay Pierrepont, W. Hallett Phillips, E.P. Rogers, Elliott Roosevelt, John E. Roosevelt, J.W. Roosevelt, Rutherford Stuyvesant, and W.A. Wadsworth.[33]

At a later date, Gifford Pinchot would become a member of the Boone and Crockett Club, and this undoubtedly bolstered

his friendship with Theodore Roosevelt, who was then President of the United States.[34] Other prominent members of the Club, who were either regular, associate or honorary members, included: Francis Parkman, Gen. Philip Sheridan, Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, and Henry L. Stimson.[35] The shared friendship and support of Roosevelt for Grinnell and Pinchot, furthered the cause of conservation in this country, and the "Club" has evolved into the premier hunting organization in the United States. The Boone and Crockett Club is the recording agency for all North American big game trophies which are killed with firearms. Most modern hunters have heard of the Boone and Crockett Club, and even have fantasies of killing game that will some day put them in the record books. The Boone and Crockett Club has always supported the adherence to hunting regulations and the development of ethics in the field.

George Bird Grinnell was one of the most prominent conservationists in the late nineteenth century. His activities carried over into the twentieth century, but ironically, he is one of the most neglected figures in the history of conservation. John F. Reiger, in <u>The Passing of the Great West, Selected Papers of George Bird Grinnell</u> summarizes Grinnell's life and the influences upon him.

> While a number of factors would go into making him the great conservationist and ethnologist he later became -- the assimilation of his father's ethical code, the acquisition of his uncle's natural history interests, the reinforcement of those ideas by the

> Audubons, and the broad perspective given by the new academic sciences -- none would be as important as the fact that in a little more than a decade, he had witnessed the passing of the Great West.[36]

As flattering as his remarks are, Reiger has left out one of the most important factors: contact with Native Americans. In 1872, Grinnell made his second trip to the American West, and he was strongly influenced by a Pawnee buffalo hunt that he witnessed in that year.

> Soon the chase was ended, and the plain is dotted with the dark objects over which bend two or three Indians busily engaged in securing the meat. Every ounce of this will be saved, and what is not eaten while fresh, will be jerked and thus preserved for consumption during the winter. How different would have been the course of a party of white hunters had they the same opportunity. They would have killed as many animals, but would have left all but enough for one day's use to be devoured by the wolves or to rot upon the prairie.[37]

The importance of this remark is that in 1872, large herds of buffalo still roamed the land. Grinnell was alluding to the "ethical" relationship that must be maintained between animal and man. Thus, this contact with Native peoples was important to George Bird Grinnell, and it would become important to the future of American conservation.

George Bird Grinnell was the "omnipresent pioneer of eastern conservation",[38] and his contributions to the conservation movement have, for the most part, been sorely underestimated. Grinnell remained a force in the politics of conservation until the 1920's, and his involvement in the movement was linked with friends and contemporaries who shared similar ideas and concerns. Among Grinnell's close friends was Ernest Thompson Seton, the famed Canadian

artist-naturalist, who achieved tremendous popularity at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century for his vitally rich animal stories. Seton's penchant for animal tales would create fame for him, as well as rivalries and obstacles that had to be overcome.

Ernest Thompson Seton was born in South Shields, which is in the northern regions of England, on August 14, 1860. The Seton family emigrated to Canada when Ernest was six years old, and set up residence in Ontario. The family settled in Lindsay, where they cleared land to farm and raise animals, but eventually moved to Toronto. In 1870, the city of Toronto encompassed a great deal of "wilderness" land, and many of Seton's earliest stories were set in the immediate vicinity. After completing his studies at the Ontario Art School, Ernest was awarded an arts scholarship to the Royal Academy in London, England. He became ill while studying in England though and was forced to return to Canada in 1881. He eventually recuperated and traveled to Manitoba in 1882, and after visiting western Canada, he went to New York City where he obtained work as an illustrator. Seton began publishing his sketches and stories in 1882, and by 1887, his writings were appearing regularly in Forest and Stream, which was edited by George Bird Grinnell, Century Magazine, Saint Nicholas and Canadian Science Monthly. Seton's first book of short stories, Wild Animals I Have Known, published in 1898, won immediate acclaim.

The publication of Wild Animals I Have Known also created controversy for Seton. John Burroughs, the arm-chair naturalist, severely criticized Seton's collection of stories. He accused Seton of being a "fraud" and "sham" naturalist in an article that appeared in the March, 1903 edition of Atlantic Monthly.[39] Burroughs, who obviously overestimated his own talents, took offense to Seton's rapid popularity and unique style of nature writing. Seton intimately knew his subject, whereas Burroughs examined nature through a windowpane whenever possible. Seton, who preferred field work to pure intellectual pursuits, held an experential attitude toward nature: It must be felt as well as observed. In many ways, this notion was somewhat analogous to John Muir's perception of the environment. John Muir persuaded Burroughs to join him in Yosemite in 1909.

> Burroughs wrote nature books as a detached observer, denied animal intelligence, accepted a godless universe, and -- worst -- spoke irreverently of glaciers. All these errors, Muir supposed, derived from spending too much time indoors, reading books in a comfortable study.[40]

Seton and Burroughs had very little in common when it came to the methodology of nature study, and less still, when it came to attributing intelligent behaviors to animals.

Seton had an interest in studying unusual behaviors of animals, and frequently noted these behaviors in his daily journals. He actively solicited reports of unusual animal behavior from his friends and contemporaries.

> My twenty-five years of journals had been copied and the copies cut up so that incidents referring to each subject might easily be filed. I found several new subjects well represented, such as the evolution of sanitation, amusement, intercommunication, etc., and a final department of unexplained strange instances; when I got many of these together I found that they began to explain each other. To make this clear I give several of them now:
> 1st. Dr. G.B. Grinnell tells me that when out shooting with Custer's party near the Black Hills in 1874, they observed a Falcon in pursuit of a wild pigeon, when the latter saw that it could not escape its winged foe, it took refuge among the men, resting on one of the saddles.[41]

Seton notes the salvation of a fox from the attack of coyotes at the feet of a Canadian woman, the rescue of a rabbit, who sought refuge with a hunter while being pursued by a weasel, and the case of a young moose, which chose the companionship of a man over the threats of a dog. Seton labeled these behaviors instincts, but surmised that these actions may be the "beginnings of the spiritual life of Man," because these animals sought a superior power with which to ally themselves. Burroughs, of course, would attribute these behaviors to coincidence, denying any intelligent decision on the part of "lower species". Seton, on the other hand, like Native peoples, had little trouble with the notion that animals made decisions, and unfortunately this animistic tendency of Seton's would become a major criticism of his work.

The resolution to the Seton-Burroughs controversy is explained by Seton in his autobiogrpahy, Trail of an Artist-Naturalist.

> Andrew Carnegie was giving a dinner to the fifty outstanding New York writers. Hamlin Garland and Clarence Stedman, among the number, called at my New York apartment that night, so we could go together.
>
> Hamlin's first question was: "What are you going to do about Uncle John's attack?"
>
> "Nothing at all", I replied.
>
> "What! Nothing!"
>
> "No, nothing. The attack is a sufficient answer to itself."
>
> "Well, said Garland, and Stedman agreed: "That is all very well as a general attitude; and would do now, if Uncle John were a nobody. But there is no question that Burroughs has a seat on Mount Olympus, and what he says goes around the world. Some one must reply - the attack is so unjust and so untrue. How would you like me to reply?"
>
> "For yourself, Hamlin, do as you please. Authorized by me, not one word. I am going to sit tight, do nothing, and win."[42]

At the Carnegie dinner that night, Seton approached Burroughs, who was also in attendance, and greeted him profusely, and then began to heckle Burroughs, in a good-natured fashion. While feigning ignorance of Burrough's attack upon Wild Animals I Have Known Seton requested Mr. Carnegie to seat him next to Burroughs for the dinner, and the host, sensing a "sporting proposition" honored the request.

> Burroughs looked unhappy and terribly nervous, but I assumed the mastery and talked with academic aloofness. Part of our dialogue ran thus:
>
> "Mr. Burroughs, did you ever make a special study of wolves?"
>
> "No."
>
> "Did you ever hunt wolves?"
>
> "No."
>
> "Did you ever photograph or draw wolves in a zoo?"
>
> "No."
>
> "Did you ever skin or dissect a wolf?"
>
> "No."
>
> "Did you ever live in wolf country?"
>
> "No."
>
> "Did you ever see a wild wolf?"
>
> "No."
>
> "Then, by what rule of logic are you equipped to judge me, who have done all of those things hundreds of times?"[43]

Seton contends that he invited Burroughs to his home and showed him the thousands of volumes of naturalist writings which he possessed, and the extensive collection of animal photographs he had taken. Seton also showed Burroughs the hundreds of specimens of wildlife that he had captured, skinned and prepared for mounting. All of this "evidence" of Seton's professionalism swayed Burroughs from his earlier position, and he apologized to Seton for the unfair attack upon his competency and writings. There is support for Seton's explanation of Burrough's apology. Burroughs never made a public withdrawal of his remarks, but he did, in the July, 1904 edition of Atlantic Monthly, refer to Seton in glowing terms, which also included a disclaimer.

> Mr. Thompson Seton, as an artist and raconteur, ranks by far the highest in this field, and to those who can separate the fact from the fiction in his animal stories, he is truly delightful.[44]

Interestingly, Seton did not mention the concluding remarks made by Burroughs that refer to "fact from fiction" in his autobiogrpahy, choosing to cite only the beginning of Burrough's statement. Further support for Seton's contention that Burroughs apologized is provided by Hamlin Garland. In February of 1904, Garland engaged in conversation with John Burroughs in New York. While dining with Burroughs, Garland states that, "Burroughs admitted to a growing regard for Seton, and was willing to exempt him from the charge of nature faking."[45] Burroughs may have made the private apology, but being the egotist that he

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was, chose to refrain from any public correction, which may have had the effect of undermining his reputation.

Seton developed a very deep interest in the customs, rituals, crafts, and other general aspects of Native American life while engaged in his studies of animal populations. As he learned more about the environment, he began to research and gain respect for the "first Americans" adaptations to it, and his interest in woodcraft became one of his primary pursuits. Seton became an expert in woodcraft and while doing so he began to realize that he was simply learning the skills that Native peoples had already perfected. The "relatedness" of the Native Americans interaction with the environment was very similar to the techniques that Seton advocated for studying the natural surroundings. Both orientations relied on experience and the personal insights that could be gained from close observations of nature.

In 1897, Seton was taught sign language by White Swan, a Crow scout who had served with the ill-fated Custer expedition of 1876. This would later enable Seton to write, Sign Talk: A Universal Signal Code Without Apparatus for Use in Army, Navy, Camping Hunting and Daily Life which was eventually published in 1918. In the text, Seton stated that "American Indian Sign Language is the Best extant. It is theoretically perfect and practically complete."[46] In 1917, Seton published The Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore, which was the eleventh edition of the

Birch Bark Rolls. The Birch Bark Rolls were the annual republication of texts on woodcraft and Indian lore which contained essentially the same material year after year. They were revised and updated, and used by diverse outdoor organizations. In the 1917 edition, Seton stated his relationship to Native peoples.

> As the model for outdoor life in this country I took the Indian, and have thus been obliged to defend him against the calumnies of those who coveted his possessions.[47]

Sign Talk and The Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore stress the experiential nature of man's "relatedness" to the environment which can be developed by close observation. It is also in the preface to the eleventh edition of the Birch Bark Roll, that Seton again mentions his friend, George Bird Grinnell.

> The portions of the manuscript called "Spartans of the West", and "Campfire Stories of Indian Character", have been submitted to George Bird Grinnell, of New York, whose life has been largely spent among the Indians, and have received from him a complete endorsement.
>
> In a similar vein, I have heard from Dr. Charles A. Eastman, and from nearly all of the many who have seen the manuscript.[48]

Seton also mentioned James Willard Schultz as a source of information in compiling The Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore.

Ernest Thompson Seton was not just an Indian hobbyist. Seton advocated a bond with the environment that could only be achieved by experiencing and directly observing animals and their habitat. The essence of "nature" was to be witnessed and felt, and this realization could not be

cultivated behind a desk. Seton was an accomplished hunter, tracker and trapper, and for these reasons he could estimate the skills of Native peoples in these areas. As his knowledge of Native American hunting practices and environmental practices was expanded, he began to realize the deep reverence in which Native Americans interacted with the environment. This "spiritual" interaciton was the key to understanding the relationship of "lower" animals to Man.

Seton's second wife, Julia Moss Seton, stressed their tie to Native American philosophy.

> We laid great store by the little rituals and ceremonies we performed at home through the years. Every hearth fire was blessed on its first lighting, each of our rooms carried on the door the totem of the occupant.[49]

The rituals and ceremonies were obviously behaviors that were prompted by knowledge gained from the study of and interaction with Native Americans.

Ernest Thompson Seton made enormous contributions to the growth of camping and youth organizations in the United States and abroad. After steeping himself in Native traditions for many years, Seton decided to make use of the knowledge that he had acquired. In 1902, "American Woodcraft," appeared in the May edition of the Ladies Home Journal. This article announced the formation of the Woodcraft Indians, which became known as "Seton's Indians," and this was the first outdoor organization for boys in the United States. The organization was founded on Native American lore, and the ideals of the organization were to

promote the very best of Indian life.

> First, guided by my own preferences, I selected a hero as a model. Not Robin Hood, nor Rollo the Sea King, nor King Arthur; but the ideal of Fenimore Cooper, perfectly embodied in Tecumseh, the great Shawnee - physically perfect, wise, brave, picturesque, unselfish, dignified.[50]

The Fenimore Cooper ideal is obviously tied to a romantic or savagist image, but by selecting Tecumseh as a model, many of the characteristics of the fictional "leather-stocking" heroes were dispelled. Seton was engrossed with the character and abilities of Tecumseh, and any who are familiar with the prominent Shawnee can hardly slight Seton's selection as a model for the outdoor organization. The Woodcraft Indians would eventually become the Boy Scouts of America, and this transition would occur rapidly by circuitous means.

The first edition of the Birch Bark Rolls, to be referred to by that name, was published in 1906. Seton sent this edition to Robert Baden-Powell, the English military hero, and the two arranged a meeting for later in that year. In October of 1906 Seton met with Baden-Powell at the Savoy Hotel in London, and this meeting had significant repercussions for the development of world wide scouting.[51] Both Seton and Baden-Powell had tried the camping experience with boys and obtained favorable results. Seton had organized a campout for local toughs on the grounds of his Connecticut home, while Baden-Powell had taken twenty-two youths to Brownsea Island, which is off the coast of

England. As a result of these camping ventures, and the enormous interest of both men in outdoor skills, the Boy Scouts of America was formed in 1910.

There is little doubt that the Woodcraft Indians were the forerunner to the Boy Scouts of America. From 1902 until 1910, Seton worked diligently toward the formation of an outdoor organization for youth. During 1910, Seton was the Chairman of the first Committee on Organization for the Boy Scouts, and he was present at all of the important organizational meetings held during that year. He was in attendance at the Martha Washington Hotel in New York City when the formal handing over of documents to the corporation, Boy Scouts of America, was completed on October 27, 1910. Ernest Thompson Seton was named the Chief Scout of the organization. President William H. Taft, was named honorary president, Theodore Roosevelt became the honorary Vice-president, Daniel Carter Beard was named National Scout Commissioner, and James West was appointed executive officer. The acknowledged founders of the Boy Scouts of America are Seton, Baden-Powell, Beard, West, and William Boyce, who in 1909 became lost in the fog of London and was rescued by a scout. This eventually led to a meeting with Baden-Powell, and Boyce became one of the incorporators of the B.S.A.[53]

Seton's affiliation with the Boy Scouts would prove to be short lived, however Seton wrote the ninth and tenth edition of the Birch Bark Rolls of 1910 and entitled them

respectively, The American Boy Scout, and The Boy Scouts of America, and during 1910-1911, numerous publications reported that the Boy Scouts of America were under the control of Seton.[54] Seton's home at this period of time was Cox Cobb, Connecticut, and this was also the organizational seat of the Boy Scouts. Yet an issue of contention was arising within the ranks of the scouting leadership that would signal Seton's rejection of the group. This issue was militarism. Increasingly, the Boy Scouts of America was becoming a militarized organization, and this was reflected in the uniforms, the reliance on "military spirit", and the postualted use of such an organization in a time of war.[55] Seton found these propensities repulsive and protested the "elimination of the beautiful, the political, the symbolic and spiritual."[56] This schism is clearly reflected in the use of Indian lore and social organization, which were so important to the Woodcraft Indians. In 1910, Boy Scout President Colin Livingstone stated that the intent of the scouting movement "is not an attempt to make an Indian of the American boy," while Colonel Peter S. Bonus claimed, "There is no attempt in our organization to approach any of the Indian names or style of conducting the movement. Ours is to be along soldierly lines."[57]

Seton obviously felt that his idea as well as organizational efforts were being perverted by individuals who did not truly understand the meaning of nature or woodcraft. These feelings were solidified in his fued with James West,

who became Chief Executive Scout in 1912. Seton intensely disliked West, who was a city bred attorney, and thought that outdoor organizations should not be entrusted to or lead by people who had no comprehension of the natural environment, or understanding of benefits that could be derived from interactions with it. The West-Seton controversy escalated until 1914, at which time Seton remarked:

> By a succession of ruses, my life-work which I began and developed alone at the beginning, has been taken out of my hands and put in charge of a group of men, absolute new-comers, who do not understand it and are leading it to disaster.[58]

The increasing hostility of the Seton-West issue would lead to the expulsion of Seton in 1915 on technical grounds.

Seton was a Canadian citizen, who never applied for United States citizenship.

> During the winter of 1914, the fact became publicized that the federal charter of incorporaiton required that the national council must be made up of American citizens. Seton was requested to apply for U.S. citizenship, knowing full well that the Canadian naturalist would never do so. Seton's position with the Boy Scouts of America became contingent upon his application for citizenship, and when he refused, his connections with the orgnaization were severed. In early 1915, Seton stated that he wished "simply to drop quietly out of it."[59]

However, Seton openly opposed the Boy Scouts during the winter of 1915. He published articles in The New York Times in December of that year, which accused the scouting organization of undermining the imagination of young men, as well as militarizing the Boy Scouts. Seton quickly became regarded as the heretic of the scouting movement, and

was essentially ostracized by the "inner circle" as well as other prominent men who supported the goals of scouting.[60]

It is noteworthy that Seton, in his autobiography, does not present any information about his activities between 1907 and 1930. Trail of an Artist-Naturalist was published in 1940, so the intervening years afforded Seton more than enough time to deal with that period. It would seem that his involvement with the Boy Scouts was so distasteful that he refused to present his side of the story in a public hearing. This self-imposed silence was certainly not the act of a "charlatan", but rather the act of a man who refused to further tarnish the image of scouting.

Although Seton dropped out of sight from the Boy Scouts, he continued to work with the Woodcraft League of America. This organization, similar in goals to the early Boy Scout movement, would never achieve great success, but Seton would be affiliated with the organization until 1934. He would also continue to write the Birch Bark Rolls which were now used by the Woodcraft League. In 1930, Seton sold his eastern land holdings and purchased 2,500 acres outside of Santa Fe, New Mexico. When Seton moved west, so did Julia Moss Buttree, who would eventually become Julia Seton.[61] Seton had deeply loved and respected Julia Moss Buttree for a number of years, but their life together was complicated by the fact that Ernest had been unable to gain a divorce from his first wife.

> When, some twenty years before, I set out to answer my critics by writing the Lives of Game Animals, my most ambitious undertaking, I had need of an effective helper. The hand of providence brought into my life at that time a young woman of rare excellence, of unusual gifts, college bred, talented, a scholar, a writer, an artist, a joyful comrade, an indefatigable worker; and, above all, gifted with that most unusual gift called common sense.[62]

When the move west occurred, Julia became the "chatelaine of Seton Castle," in an area that Ernest Thompson Seton described as being "the land where still the Indian lives unchanged, and the Buffalo Wind is blowing."

It would be in Seton Castle, Seton Village, that Ernest and Julia Seton would produce their most articulate statements about the inherent beauty, generosity, and humanism that they had observed in various Native American societies. Julia Seton would write The Rhythm of the Redman (1930), The Pulse of the Pueblo (1939), and The Indian Costume Book (1938), which were illustrated by Ernest Thompson Seton. These works described Pueblo, and other Native American dances, music and clothing. The major literary projects for E.T. Seton would be co-authoring The Gospel of The Redman (1936), and the writing of his autobiography (1940). The work which vividly demonstrates the Seton's commitment to Native American philosophy and ideals is unquestionably, The Gospel of the Redman.

In the foreward to The Gospel of the Redman, Seton singles out those individuals who assisted with the text.

> In compiling these records of Indian thought and culture, I have been assisted by a committee of men and women whose lives have been given to such studies.

> Some are Indians; some, White folk. Without their approval, nothing has been included in this book.[63]

Included in that list of names are George Bird Grinnell, and Dr. Charles A. Eastman, (Ohiyesa). Of all the books that Ernest Thompson Seton wrote, The Gospel of the Redman is the most concise appraisal of Native American values, and Seton was well aware that what he was proposing in the test would not set well with his contemporaries who held a grossly inaccurate and simplistic view of indigenous peoples.

The Gospel of the Redman focuses on many of the subject areas of Native American life that had been ignored during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Spirituality, religion, duty of tribal customs, marriage and divorce, chastity, medicine men, cleanliness, honesty, and wisdom are some of the topics that Sexton expounded on. When these subjects were developed, so emerged the schism, the blatant contrast, that existed between Native cultures and western civilization. It becomes clear that Seton prefers the traditions of Native peoples and has grown to resent the materialistic nature of American society. This harsh condemnation of western society is illustrated in the opening lines of the text.

> The culture and civilization of the White man are essentially material; his measure of success is, "How much property have I acquired for myself?" The culture of the Redman is fundamentally spiritual; his measure of success is, "How much service have I rendered to my people?" His mode of life, his thought, his every act are given spiritual significance, approached and colored with complete realization of the spirit world.[64]

From beginning to end, The Gospel of the Redman maintains this tome of pro-Indian discourse.

The summation of the text is contained in the last two short chapters. Chapter VIII, entitled, "Whither? The Vision," is a harsh denunciation of the frontiersman, or backwoodsman, while Seton was searching for an American ideal "who would be clean, manly, strong, unsorid, fearless and kind, gentle with his strength dignified, silent and friendly."[65] Instead of the mythic American "frontiersman", Seton chose the Native American. Early in his career, when he formed the Woodcraft Indians, Seton actualized his perceptions of an "ideal" type by aligning himself with Native peoples. It is in the Epilogue though, that Seton demonstrates the extent of his identification with indigenous peoples.

> Does your system work for the greatest happiness of the greatest number?
>
> Is your civilization characterized by justice in the courts and gentleness in the streets?
>
> Are its largest efforts to relieve suffering and misery?
>
> Does your civilization grant to every individual the force and rights of humanhood?
>
> Is everyone in your community guaranteed food, shelter, protection, dignity, so long as your group has these things in its gift?
>
> Does your system provide for the sick, the helpless, the weak, the old and the stranger?
>
> By every one of these tests, the White civilization is a failure.
>
> How is it that we of the White man's way have as much food in the land as ever we had, just as much wealth as ever we had, just as much need for labor, just as much material of every kind, just as much readiness to work; and yet we are facing a breakdown because we cannot co-ordinate these things into effective action?[66]

The answers to these questions are provided by Seton. Western civilization must follow the ideals of the "Redman," which will allow contemporary society to "begin again with a better, higher thought."[67]

Ernest Thompson Seton was an outspoken proponent of Native American values and life styles, and was severely criticized for his personal beliefs. He was ridiculed as a "socialist" because he believed that "The Indian was a socialist in the best and literal meaning of the word,"[68] and his animal stories and naturalist writings were attacked as being "animistic," because he subjectively understood nature and the personal relationship of people to the environment. There is little doubt that the writings of Ernest Thompson Seton achieved their objectives. Seton played a significant role in influencing American outdoor enthusiasts and sportsmen, using insights gained from Native American societies, to help create a uniquely American conservation ethic.

The contributions of Grinnell and Seton, were matched in kind by two other prominent men of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Hamlin Garland and Charles Alexander Eastman also played key roles in disseminating information abotu Native Americans that would influence popular perceptions of the environment.

Hamlin Garland was born in West Salem, Wisconsin on September 14, 1860. The Garland family owned a quarter section of land, and the family extensively farmed their

property. As a young boy, Hamlin had seen bands of Indians passing the family farm, and the country surrounding the family land was abundant with wildlife. The family moved to Osage, Iowa in 1869, and established a farm. In Osage, Hamlin completed his studies and was awarded a diploma from the Cedar Valley Seminary in 1881. His parents eventually moved to South Dakota, and Hamlin followed them to homestead land in that state. His homestead was located in Ordway, South Dakota, but the enterprise was shortlived: He obtained the claim in 1883, but by 1884 he was in Boston pursuing a literary career. He enrolled in the Boston School of Oratory, and covered the costs by doing research for Moses True Brown, who was a prominent member of the faculty.[69]

Garland's rise in the literary world was meteoric. In 1885 Garland taught summer sessions at the Boston School of Oratory, published his first article, and conducted literary evenings for local Bostonians. By 1890, he would be extensively published. He published descriptions of prairie life as well as literary insights and reviews in Harper's Weekly, American Magazine, and New England Magazine. In 1891, Garland published the first edition of Main-Travelled Roads, his collection of "local color" vignettes and short stories, which won limited acclaim. Between 1891 and 1895, he published numerous articles and books. In 1896, his attention turned to the American Indian as subject matter.

In June of 1895, Garland traveled to the American West, after finishing his novel, Rose of Dutcher's Coolly.[70] This trip rekindled Hamlin Garland's boyhood interest in the American Indian. The western tour of 1895 has been described as a "profound influence" on Garland by Underhill and Littlefield, in Hamlin Garland's Observations on The American Indian, 1895-1905. The western trip included visits to Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona, where Garland came in contact with the Utes, Hopi, Navajo, and Pueblo peoples. Garland records his images and experiences of the Hopi Snake Dance in Roadside Meetings, and they are extremely vivid.

> I saw the painted priests of the cult snatch rattlesnakes from a bag and take them in their mouths. I saw these serpents bite the cheeks of the devotees. I saw the snakes writhing in a great heap at my feet. I stood like a man in a dream. I ceased to hear a sound. The dancers circled the plaza in silence, two and two, the one holding the serpent in his lips, the other teasing it with a feather. It was all so far reaching, so deep-sounding in human experiences that I forgot every other fact in the world. I heard nothing, felt nothing - I only saw.[71]

This account of the snake dance is significantly different from the one that Garland would publish in "Among the Moki" in 1898. "Among the Moki," refers to the dance in a very impersonal, descriptive manner, while the account from his autobiographical journals relates Garland's sensations and subjective experiences at the dance. This event, and the entire trip west, would mark the beginning of Garland's relationship with Native peoples as subject matter and a tie with indigenous philosophy. Garland

would become a prominent advocate on behalf of Native peoples in the following years.

In October of 1896, Garland had the good fortune to meet Ernest Thompson Seton at a luncheon at The Players Club in New York City. In attendance at the affair was Theodore Roosevelt, then Commissioner of Police in that city. Garland described Seton as "a dark-eyed, black-haired Canadian hunter, artist, and story writer," who was introduced to the guests at the luncheon as "Wolf Thompson."[72] The nickname obviously came from Seton's habit of signing his works with his signature and a scrawled wolf print below it. This encounter would eventually blossom into a life-long friendship between the two writers.

The year 1896 began a notable increase in the literature which Garland published on the American Indian. "Into the Happy Hunting Grounds of the Utes," appeared in that year as did "The most Mysterious People in America." and "The Dance at Acoma," While among the Utes, Garland developed an interest in Native languages, particularly the naming systems of indigenous peoples.[73] This would become one of his primary interests shortly after the turn of the twentieth century. In 1897, Garland published "The Stony Knoll" in Youth's Companion, which recounts the story of an old woman, Capeawitz, who is scheduled to select an allotment from the reservation proper and must meet with the agent concerning the details.

> Garland introduces the simple story with an attack on the theory of allotment, resenting "that the beautiful sentiment which had considered the earth as common property should give way to the system of the white man." In like fashion, he attacks the white settlers, "hard, eager and greedy," who wait to enter and occupy the surplus Indian lands and in whose eyes "the red man was a pest to be exterminated like the tarantula."[74]

Upon beginning to write about American Indians Garland began, almost immediately, to act as a staunch advocate for Native peoples. This advocacy would become more zealous in time, leading Garland to soundingly criticize the whites that surrounded Indian reservations: "Their savagery is worse than the Indian's for it has in it Saxon greed."[75]

In 1897, Garland again traveled to the American West. It was on this trip that he came in contact with the Blackfoot while visiting their agency. He recorded a number of observations about the tribe, and was requested by White Calf to take a message to George Bird Grinnell upon returning to the east. The message was, evidently, a series of notes from individual Blackfoot who wished to communicate with Grinnell.[76] This letter was undoubtedly delivered to George Bird Grinnell, for Garland and the prominent conservationist became friends in the future. Garland continued to publish articles that focused on Native Americans in 1897-98, though his major concern was finishing his biogrpahy of Ulysses S. Grant, which was published in the fall of 1898.

Garland published the third edition of Main-Travelled Roads in 1899, along with numreous shorter articles, some

of which focused on Native Americans. It was also in that year that Hamlin Garland married Zulime Taft, the sister of Lorado Taft, an eminent sculptor of the day. The newly-weds accepted an invitation to visit Oklahoma in 1900 from George W.H. Stouch, the agent at the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho agency. This trip to Oklahoma would prove to be very important to Garland; it would set the stage for his involvement with the project to "rename" Native Americans. While in Oklahoma, Hamlin met Chester Poe Cornelius, an Oneida attorney, who brought to Garland's attention the problem of inheritance for Native Americans due to the absence of surnames.

> Cornelius had located here, after a most astonishing educational career in New York. "I intend to grow up with the law business of this country," he said. "Lawyers here will always be concerned largely with Indian lands, inheritance, and titles. The agency roles do not show family relationships. Each man and woman has an individual name and there is certain to be much litigation."
>
> "That is true," I replied. "Now that the Indians are landowners their names show no family connections, just as in the case of the Italians or Greeks or any of our immigrant races. I shall bring this to the attention of President Roosevelt."[77]

Garland had known the President since their first meeting at The Players in 1896, and they became fast friends while Garland was working on the Grant Biography. The renaming project would eventually be authorized by the Secretary of the Interior, with the full support of Roosevelt.

The Oklahoma trip also brought Garland into contact with John Homer Seger. Seger had formed a "colony" of Cheyenne and Arapaho peoples in 1886 and by 1900 the

community was thriving. Seger had become the sub-agent of the tribes and had taught them the "white man's road."

> Seger came out to meet us, a stocky, middle-aged man, with pleasant blue eyes and a modest manner of speech. Although somewhat daunted by the strangers whom the major had brought, his words were hospitable. His clothing was commonplace - nothing but a huge white hat indicated his many years of life among the red.
>
> As I walked with him toward the office, a tall red man stopped him with graceful motions of his hands asked him a question. Seger replied in the same silent way, with amazing skill and fluency. When I spoke of it he said, "Yes, I transact all my business in the sign talk. You see, my colony is about equally divided between Cheyennes and Arapahoes - and while I spoke Arapaho when I came out here, I had to drop it. It wouldn't do to slight the Cheyennes. As I couldn't talk both languages, I compromised by using signs which they all understood.[78]

Seger's colony and success among the Cheyenne and Arapaho would continue to have an effect upon Garland. The colony would set the example for what Garland though was possible for Native Americans when they were dealt with in an honest and committed manner.

Garland returned to Oklahoma in 1901, and recorded notes on the Cheyenne for a novel that he was working on. He gained tremendous insights from further conversations with John Seger, and many of the topics relating to Native peoples that Seger and Garland discussed would eventually become short stories or details of novels. When Garland returned to the east, he immediately set to work to complete The Captain of The Grey-Horse Troop. The novel, a romance set in the west during hostile relations with the Cheyenne, was published in March of 1902. On April first, Garland

called at the White House to leave a copy of the novel for Roosevelt. Roosevelt greeted Hamlin and his wife, Zulime, inviting them to attend a musicale. Roosevelt also extended an invitation to Hamlin to attend a cabinet meeting the next day.

> You are interested in conversation. Come to my cabinet meeting tomorrow morning. Gifford Pinchot will be there.[79]

At this meeting, Garland continued his advocacy on behalf of Native Americans.

> These people of the polished Stone Age require time to pass from their age to the age of electricity. It is a mistake to imagine that a single generation or even three can bridge the chasm. They are gregarious. To make solitary homesteaders of them is to destroy them. Their lands should be allotted in such wise that they can live as the French peasants do, in villages, and farm their outlying lands. Others of them, like the Navajo, are natural herders and should be allowed to continue as such. They must have time for adjustments.[80]

It was at this same meeting that Garland presented his plan for imposing a system of surnames upon reservation peoples. Roosevelt listened to the plan, and fully understood the necessity of common last names in relation to the allotment policy.

> Roosevelt listened to me in silence as I outlined my plan. At the close of my address, he took a small card from his desk and penciled a few words upon it. "See the Secretary of the Interior," he said, handing me the card, "and lay your plan before him." And as we rose to go he added, "I know the Indian service is cursed with bad agents and inefficient department heads, but I intend to see that the red man gets substantial justice. You may depend on my cooperation."[81]

The support of Roosevelt would lead to the implementation of Garland's plan in the fall of 1902.

Garland selected Dr. Charles Alexander Eastman (Ohiyesa - The Winner), a Santee Sioux, to work with the project. George Bird Grinnell was also consulted on this project, and briefly worked as a part of the project staff along with John Homer Seger, W.J. McGee of the Bureau of Ethnology and Clinton Hart Merriam from the Department of Agriculture.[82] George Bird Grinnell provided useful direction to the project in a letter to Garland on November 22, 1902.

> I feel as if present names ought to be adopted. Of course, many of these present names are unpronounceable in present shape, but some abbreviation of them might be used, and I think it better to do that than to saddle a family with such names as Side Hill Calf, Boss Ribs Hunter or something of that kind. Why should an Indian name necessarily mean anything to a white man? When I pronounce the name of my friend Smith, I do not think of a blacksmith, or locksmith, or tinsmith. His name is merely a verbal label by which he can be identified. Something of this sort I wrote the Commissioner.[83]

Charles Eastman was employed by the project until 1909, and the naming project continued for eight years, but eventually lost bureaucratic favor and became the responsibility of agents on the reservations. The undertaking, none the less, made significant inroads in the translating and renaming of family groups. There is little doubt that without this effort land fraud and deceptive practices involving Indian lands would have been exacerbated.

Garland's interest in the Native American continued for the rest of his life. Unfortunately, his published writings on the American Indian ceased in 1907, until the

publication of The Book of the American Indian in 1923. His interests turned to forestry and conservation, but Native peoples still exerted an influence on him. The influence was a heightened respect for the environment and man's relationship to it. In 1905, Garland was requested to present the commencement address at the University of Chicago by Dr. Harper, then president of that institution. Garland accepted the invitation on the condition that the address would be on an "outdoor theme".[84] He attended the graduation and gave the address in September of 1905.

> No man can know the essential majesty of the wild till he has lain down beside his fire, in a land of pines and peaks and roaring, ice-cold water, alone and uncertain of his way. Swift as the the turning of a hand, the primeval reasserts its dominion over you, and you shudder with awe and thrill with a subtle, fearsome joy. Shall a man be of less resource than the cony? Shall the cry of the brave brown robin put him to shame?[85]

Near the end of the address, Garland makes a vivid connection with the environmental influences of Native Americans.

> Many of our greatest men are the sons of the trail. Who shall estimate the value of the wilderness in the training of Washingotn, of Lincoln, and of Grant? Simplicity and directness of purpose, tenacity, and resource, they certainly drew from their border experiences, and they are but shining graduates of the Pine Tree Academe. For more than two hundred years we have been schooled by the Algonquin and the Sioux. Let us acknowledge this. We killed them, we swept them before us; but they taught us as they died.[86]

It is indeed unfortuante, that Garland thought his oration failed to impact the faculty in attendance.

In 1910, Garland published Cavanaugh, Forest Ranger, which contains a "sensitive rendering of the beauties of

the wilderness,"[87] but it is only an average novel. The novel, very similar to the "sociological" approach to literature that Garland had attempted in The Captain of the Grey-Horse Troop, reinforces the need to conserve natural resources. This interest in conservation was a logical outgrowth from Garland's contact with Native peoples, George Bird Grinnell, Ernest Thompson Seton, John Muir, Charles Alexander Eastman and Theodore Roosevelt, all of whom had a major influence on the conservaitonist movement. Garland's relationship with Seton was particularly enjoyable, and the two often went on outings together.

> Seton was up early and at his work while I went on superintending my carpenters. At night we all went out to picnic in the open air. I cooked the steak as usual. After supper we drew round the fire and Seton gave out the calls of loons and Wolves and we all took turns telling stories. Some boys who camped near were scared by the howling of a wolf - Ernest - and came up to see what it was all about. Seton was at his jolliest and made friends with everyone he met. He is nearly fifty years of age but the boy is in him yet. He seemed to enjoy being with us and we certainly enjoyed having him in our home. He is a great figure for the American boy and his books are likely to be read by many generations of boys.[88]

One of the most significant events that demonstrates the degree to which Garland identified with Native Americans occurred in 1902, and involved Ernest Thompson Seton.

> Throughout the year 1902 Garland wrote steadily on his new novel. Sometimes he worked in the Indian tepee which he had brought back with him from the reservation to set up at Egale's Nest, where he and Zulime spent part of the summer. Complete with blankets, parfleches, willow beds and other accessories, this lodge was an excellent replica of a Cheyenne dwelling and filled Garland with inordinate pride. Seton came by one day to assist in the dedication of its firehole, and the two old

> campers smoked together a symbolic pipe of meditation. This primitive shelter Garland found an appropriate study in which to write of Indian lore and to compose the lectures he was scheduled to give that autumn at the University of Chicago on the "The Outdoor Literature of America."[89]

The Eagle's Nest was in Oregon, Illinois, and of course, the novel that Garland was working on was The Captain of the Grey-Horse Troop.

The dedication of the firehole was, undoubtedly, an attempt to ceremoniously "break-in" the dwelling. The "symbolic pipe of meditation" was the vehicle by which the honoric event was concluded. The pipe, to Native peoples, represents a tie with the creation, and tobacco, when offered to the fire or through a pipe was a sacred offering to the Great Mystery and Garland and Seton were well aware of this symbolic use of tobacco from their contact with Native peoples. Garland found his teepee to be a source of inspiration for writing about the environment and indigenous peoples. Jean Holloway's Hamlin Garland a Biography includes among the pictures in the text, one which depicts Garland in mountainman-Indian apparel standing next to the teepee. It is ironic that this picture should be included in the Holloway book, for the index does not list one mention of Indians or Native Americans.

Hamlin Garland, like Ernest Thompson Seton and George Bird Grinnell, had an appreciation of the environment which was influenced by Native Americans. Glimpses of this commitment can be gleaned from his writings and actions.

In 1923, Garland published The Book of the American Indian, which was illustrated by Frederic Remington.[90] The publication of this text marked the conclusion of Garland's literary career which focused on the American Indian. This book, issued after years of abandoning the Native American as a literary topic, signified Garland's concern for accurately depicting Native peoples. "My stories might have been better stories, that I will admit, but they are never falsifications of life and character."[91] Garland opposed the inclusion of the Remington illustrations in the volume but was eventually forced to compromise on this point.

> My design was directly opposite to that of Remington, who carried to the study of these hunters all the contempt, all the conventional notions of a hard and rather prosaic illustrator. He never got the wilderness point of view. His white hunters were all ragged, bearded, narrow between the eye, and his red men stringy, gross of feature and cruel. I recognized no harmony between the drawings and my text, but as I was poor and my publishers agreed that they could not publish the book as I wished to have it done, I laid my manuscript on their editorial desk and went away.[92]

The publication of The Book of the American Indian did not sever the tie between Native peoples and Garland, but rather marked the end of Garland's published writings on American Indians.

Hamlin Garland's efforts on behalf of Native Americans are linked with Charles Alexander Eastman. Eastman, a Santee Sioux, worked with Garland on the tribal renaming project that began in 1902. Eastman, who was a friend and confidant to Garland, Grinnell and Seton, provides an

interesting counter-point to the literary careers and environmental ties that these gentlemen developed from contact with Native Americans. Whereas Garland, Grinnell, and Seton came into contact with the attitudes, values and beliefs of Native people, Eastman was raised in a traditional Sioux encampment, and later on acquired the trappings of the "white man's road."

Eastman was born in February, 1858, near the present site of Redwood Falls, Minnesota. His mother, Nancy Eastman, was the daughter of Seth Eastman, an army officer, and Wakan Tankawin, a full blood Santee. Eastman's father was Many Lightning, also of the Santee Sioux. Eastman was initially given the name "Hakadah," which means "the Pitiful Last," due to the fact that his mother died shortly after his birth. He was raised by his maternal grandmother in the traditions of the Santee. He resided in a lodge (teepee) and white influences, other than material culture, were minimal on the Band. The years 1858-1860, witnessed growing hostilities between the Santee in Minnesota, and the white populace of the area. This schism between cultures would culminate in the "Santee Uprising" of 1862.

This "uprising" has frequently been discussed in the literature,[93] and the impact of this event upon Hakadah rests upon the fact that his father, Many Lightnings was a participant in the conflict. Hostilities were the result of widespread Santee starvation due to the late payment of annuities.[94] A local trader, Andrew Myrick, was

asked if he could help provision the Santee until the annuities were paid: he replied, "Let them eat grass."[95] Ths hostilities lasted only a month, and by late September, 1862, The Santees sought peace. Many of the "hostile" Santee fled Minnesota, but by December 1862, three hundred and three Santees had been convicted for their participation in the war. Among those convicted was Many Lightnings, Hakadah's father. On December 22, 1862, after intercession by President Lincoln, which reduced the number of Santee to be executed, 38 of the Santee were hung in the town square at Mankato, Minnesota.

Hakadah thought that his father was one of the victims of the retalitory act in Mankato, and for many years he would believe his father a casualty of the "uprising." Hakadah spent the next ten years with the Santee Sioux and hunted buffalo and other large game animals while learning the customs of his people. Hakadah's name was changed after his village defeated a rival band in a lacrosse game, and he was awarded the name Ohiyesa, "The Winner."[96] Ohiyesa's life among the Santee has been graphically recorded in Indian Boyhood which was published in 1902, and there is little doubt that this formative period had enormous impact on the young Santee. Ohiyesa lived from the fruits of the land, and by the time he was an adolescent, he had interalized the Santee "way."

> At the age of fifteen, Ohiyesa was a boy becoming a man. His childhood had taught him a harmony with nature and a self reliance that was not dependent

> upon material objects. As one approaching warriorhood, he had been trained to spare only Canadian whites, believing that American whites were responsible for his father's death.[98]

One can understand Ohiyesa's consternation, when in September 1872, his father, Many Lightnings, entered the Santee encampment. Many Lightnings was now called Jacob Eastman, and wore the clothes of a white man.

In 1862, Many Lightnings had been captured and sent to prison for his involvement in the "uprising." While in prison, he converted to the Christian faith, and was released from prison in 1866.[99] In 1869, Jacob Eastman moved to Flandreau, South Dakota and became a part of an Indian agricultural community. As soon as Jacob was settled in the community, and time permitted, he went in search of his family. The confrontation between father and son in 1872 was an awkward meeting. Okiyesa in the traditional garb of the Sioux, and his father in the foreign clothes of the "wasicu."

Jacob Eastman desired to take his son back to Flandreau with him, and eventually Ohiyesa consented to return with his father. After reaching Flandreau, and becoming somewhat acclimated to the new surroundings, Ohiyesa began to attend the local day school. In 1874 he traveled to the Santee Normal School, located in Nebraska, and became a boarding student in that institution. Ohiyesa was strongly encouraged by his father to learn the ways of the white man. Education was a necessity for existence in the unfamiliar

world, and Jacob Eastman characterized the tools of the white man as "the bows and arrows" of the dominant culture. It was also at Santee Normal School that Ohiyesa took a new name. He would use Eastman as his last name, it being his mother's maiden name and the name which had been selected by his father and brother, and for first names he chose Charles Alexander. Henceforth, Ohiyesa would be known as Charles Alexander Eastman.

One must stop and ponder for a minute the enormous upheaval that had occurred in young Eastman's life: Fifteen years of traditional experience overturned by the reappearance of a father who was presumed dead. The forfeiture of Santee customs, dress, language, and eventually, religion for the lifestyle of the white man. All of this accomplished in a span of two years. Charles became a Christian at Santee Normal School and fervently followed the wishes of his father. He worked deligently to obtain and master the educational curriculum which was offered at the school, proving to be a very successful student. Eastman rapidly learned what the Normal School had to offer, and was encouraged to enter the preparatory program at Beloit College in Wisconsin.[100]

Jacob Eastman's death in 1876 was a severe blow to Charles, but he continued to follow the instructions of his deceased father. He entered Beloit College in 1876 and pursued his education with tenacity. Eastman became somewhat of a curiosity at Beloit, but he responded to this

with hard work and an amiable personality. Eastman transferred to Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois in the fall of 1879. He completed his studies at Knox in early 1881, pondering a future in medicine or law. He eventually decided upon medicine and selected Dartmouth College as the institution where he would obtain his undergraduate accreditation. He traveled to Dartmouth in January of 1882 to begin his preparation for medical school.

The fact that Charles Alexander Eastman was nearly a full-blood Sioux, and had resided among the Santee in a traditional manner, never ceased to amaze eastern liberals. In the east, Charles became much more of a curiosity than he had been in Wisconsin or Illinois. The physical transition was also something that Eastman was forced to reckon with.

> In upstate New York he viewed mountains, valleys, green meadows, and streams that brought back memories of his days in the wild. This appealed to Charles' deep love for nature. The city of Boston again was like Chicago, with sad people moving about crooked streets. The contrast was welcome when he arrived in Hanover, New Hampshire, in the rugged granite hills of New England.[101]

Eastman was admitted to Dartmouth in 1883, and enjoyed an immediate, but somewhat stereotypical, popularity. While at Dartmouth, Eastman attempted to integrate himself into college activities and was tremendously adept at doing so. He played football, joined a fraternity, and largely enjoyed the friendships that he made. It was also at Dartmouth College that Eastman became the "model" for what Native Americans could become if given the opportunity.

While at Dartmouth, Eastman was befriended by the Frank Woods family who supported Charles financially and introduced him to the affluent lifestyle of the eastern states. It was also the Woods family who connected Charles with the Y.M.C.A., which would later beocme a factor in his life.[102] Charles graduated from Dartmouth in 1887, and applied to the University of Boston Medical School. He was accepted, and began his studies in that same year. In June of 1890, Dr. Charles Alexander Eastman graduated from the medical school. In a matter of seventeen years, the transition from traditional Santee to the educational elite of American society had been accomplished.

While at the University of Boston, Charles began to lecture on the condition and future of the American Indian. This would become an avocation in his life, and he frequently derived financial support from his lectures. There is no doubt though, that Charles strongly believed in what he was engaged in. He viewed education as the vehicle for freeing Native peoples from the exploitation of the dominant society, and Christianity as the means to true salvation. Later in his life, he would question both these assumptions.

Upon completing medical school Eastman had difficulty in finding employment. After a great deal of communication and support from Frank Woods, Eastman obtained a position in the Indian service. He was assigned as the physician to the Pine Ridge Sioux Agency, South Dakota, in the fall

of 1890.[103] Eastman desired to serve his own people, which was an admirable gesture, but he also wanted to act as an agent of acculturation to the Sioux. It is ironic that Charles Alexander Eastman happened to be the agency physician at Pine Ridge when the United States Seventh Cavalry massacred the Sioux at Wounded Knee. On December 29, 1890, Dr. Charles Alexander Eastman began to treat the handiwork of the Hotchkiss guns which had been trained upon Big Foot's Band of the Oglala Sioux. Eastman also led the belated rescue attempt seeking survivors of the massacre. On December 30, a tremendous blizzard struck the agency, making rescue efforts impossible. Because of the severity of the storm, it was not until three days later that the rescue mission got underway.

> Charles had been deeply moved by the scenes of horror at Wounded Knee. He had trustingly put his faith in Christian love and the high ideals of white civilization. But on that New Year's Day of 1891 a contradiction was realized by Charles that would bring him inner torment and ordeal for the rest of his life. He had been confronted graphically with the difference between a liberal oratory of the virtues of white civilization and the grim reality of that civilization's cultural and racial genocide of the American Indian. The impact of that day stayed with him for the rest of his life.[104]

Charles Eastman began to clearly perceive the injustices and corruption that were an integral part of the Indian service.

While at Pine Ridge, Eastman had met Elaine Goodale, who was serving as the Superintendent of Indian Education for the Dakota Agency. They were attracted to each other

because of their mutual concerns, and after the Wounded Knee tragedy subsided, they were married. Elaine Goodale, a well educated white woman from the Berkshires Hills of Massachusetts, had pursued a career in Indian education and missionary work, and had done an excellent job serving in various capacities. She, along with Charles, publicly exposed the incident at Wounded Knee for what it was; the slaughter of innocents. Elaine and Charles were married on June 18, 1891, in New York City.[105] After honeymooning, the Eastmans returned to the Pine Ridge Agency, where Charles attempted to surface the existence of an "Indian ring" at the agency and the ensuing conflict with the Indian service forced his resignation. The Eastmans left Pine Ridge disconsolate and hardened to the realities and ineptness of federal Indian policy.

Elaine Goodale, before her marriage to Charles Eastman, had published a number of peotic texts and articles. In 1879, Elaine and her sister Dora released In the Berkshires with the Wild Flowers, and both were thought to have promising literary careers. Elaine's writing skills proved to be an asset to Charles as he ended his tenure with the Indian service. Charles and Elaine eventually settled in Minneapolis, and Charles put out his shingle as a practicing physician.[106] Eastman, during this period of time, was effectively ostracized from the Indian service. Even though he attempted to find another agency position, he was consistently rebuked. His medical practice afforded

the Eastmans some degree of financial security, but Charles wanted to continue his work among the Lakota.

In 1893, Charles Eastman, with assistance from Elaine, turned his interest to descriptive writing about Indian life and ideals. In December of 1893, Eastman's first article appeared in St. Nicholas. This publication was the first of a series of articles entitled, "Recollecitons of Wildlife," and they continued to be published in St. Nicholas until May of 1874. While the Eastmans were jointly pursuing a literary career, Charles was approached by Charles K. Ober, the Secretary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association.[107] In June of 1894, Eastman accepted a position with the International Y.M.C.A. and began to organize the existing Indian Y.M.C.A.'s. Eastman continued to work for the Y.M.C.A. until 1898.

> By the fall of 1898, Charles had grown weary of his evangelism with its limited results. The YMCA was not really serious about supporting the work among Indian people beyond the finances which Charles was able to raise himself.[108]

There is an interesting analogy here between the relationship of the Y.M.C.A. and Puritan solicitors on behalf of Native American religious projects. It has been well documented that early religious zealots used Indian work to raise funds which were never utilized for Indian programing,[109] and this may have been the case with the Y.M.C.A. during Eastman's association with that organization. The Y.M.C.A., by alluding to their work among

Indians, may have used the "cause" in general fund raising efforts, even though the Indian program was forced to bring in enough money to be self-sufficient in the organization.

Eastman severed his connection with the Y.M.C.A. in 1898 and became a lobbyist for the Santee Sioux, eventually lobbying on behalf of other Sioux groups. During this period of time, Eastman continued to lecture on the American Indian, and developed a reputation as an authority in the field. He was constantly in demand for public appearances, and again, he served as a "model" of Native American achievement. At this time Eastman also began to question the "civilization" of the white man. By 1898, Eastman had ample opportunity to sample the nature of western civilization and to contrast it with his early traditional upbringing. Charles' lobbying efforts were short-lived due to the economic hardships his work inflicted on his family, and when Elaine was offered employment at the Carlisle Indian School in 1899, they accepted.

While at Carlisle, Eastman worked as the "outing" co-ordinator. The outing program was charged with placing Carlisle students in the homes of white citizens in the surrounding Pennsylvania area. The outing program operated during the summer months, so that Indian students could not return to the reservations over the school vacation. This program fostered the "civilization" of Indian children into dominant behavior patterns, and it successfully separated the children from Native culture. The Eastmans stayed at

Carlisle until the fall of 1900, at which time Eastman secured the position of physician at the Crow Creek Agency in South Dakota. Charles had been seeking employment in the Indian service for many years, but his activism at Pine Ridge had not been forgotten by the bureaucracy. It was with high hopes that the Eastman family moved west in 1900, to again serve the People.

It was at Crow Creek that Charles Eastman began to write about the American Indian with renewed interest. Eventually, Elaine and Charles reworked the stories that had been published in St. Nicholas and the result was Indian Boyhood, the Eastman's first book.[110] Indian Boyhood, published in the spring of 1902, was well received and accorded favorable reviews. The text is an examination of Eastman's first fifteen years among the Santee Sioux, and contains a great deal of ethnographic and environmental information which appealed to the growing number of "outdoor" enthusaists. Indian Boyhood was held in high esteem by George Bird Grinnell, for in late December of 1902 he wrote to Eastman requesting him to speak before the Sequoya League in New York City.

> This is an association which has for its object the general improvement of Indians at large and I happen to be the chairman of the executive committee of the New York League.[111]

The publication of Indian Boyhood marked the beginning of Eastman's involvement with the growing environmental movement in the United States that would be influenced by Native American philosophy.

Charles Eastman's stay at the Crow Creek Agency was again marred by scandal. Charles and Elaine were aligned with the Democratic Party, and a rift developed between South Dakota Republicans and the Eastmans.[112] The Republicans requested the transfer of Eastman to another agency, where his political ideology would not cause problems. The confrontation eventually led to manufactured charges leveled against Charles Eastman. The charges, including one of sexual misconduct with a matron at the agency boarding school, were aimed at removing Eastman from office. Eastman defended himself against the charges, as did the matron, but uncertainty surrounded Eastman's future with the Indian Service. He was frustrated and tired of political chicanery, and resigned form his appointment on March 12, 1903.[113] The Eastman family now had six children, their future was uncertain, and in the spring of 1903, they moved east.

Eastman's resignation from his appointment as Crow Creek physician did not sever his connection with the Indian service. Hamlin Garland was actively seeking his assistance on the renaming project, and with the endorsement of President Roosevelt, secured an appointment for Eastman from W.A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, shortly before Eastman resigned from the Sioux Agency.[114] Eastman and Garland would continue to work on the renaming project for the next six years. A frienship between the two grew rapidly, and Garland and Eastman shared many

interests, the most important being advocacy on behalf of the American Indian and the relationship of Native peoples to the environment.

While working on the renaming project, Eastman began to write and publish considerable information on the American Indian. In 1904 Eastman published Red Hunters and Animal People.[115] His return to literary pursuits would bring him into extensive contact with Grinnell, Garland, and Seton. Red Hunters and Animal People, as the name implies, deals with the relationship of Native hunters to the animals that they pursue. The text presents Native peoples as conservationists, who existed in a symbiotic relationship with the environment. Much of the content, though fictionalized to a certain extent, was drawn from Eastman's early years and observations, and personal interaction with game animals. Shortly after Red Hunters and Animal People appeared in print, George Bird Grinnell sent a letter to Eastman.

> The book is full of the spirit of the solitary places of the Old West, and renews a thousand memories of bygone days. The stories charm me by their simplicity and their faithfulness. They bear the stamp of actual knowledge of old conditions of the west, of the Red Hunters, and of the animals with whom they lived and who gave them food.
>
> You are greatly to be congratulated on the production which reminds me a little of the jungle books of Kipling, and yet is full of the old time flavor of our own beloved and then untouched west.[116]

The text would eventually carry an endorsement by George Bird Grinnell, which was excerpted from the above letter, and Grinnell would later support Eastman in his bid to

receive a grant from the Carnegie Foundation to write a historical and ethnographic study of the Sioux.[117]

During the following years, Eastman's literary productivity increased rapidly, and between 1906 and 1910, he wrote, with the assistance of Elaine, three articles and two books. Old Indian Days (1907) and Smoky Day's Wigwam Evenings: Indian Tales Retold (1910) were compilations of stories that were told by a tribal orator, Smoky Day, who resided in Canada, as they were remembered by Charles Alexander Eastman. Elaine's name appeared on the title page of Smoky Day's Wigwam Evenings along with Charles'.[118] During this period, Charles Eastman was a sought after lecturer, and one of the most famous Indians in America. His advice on "Indian matters" was highly valued, and he was recognized as one of the foremost experts on Native Americans.

In the early months of 1910, Eastman accepted an offer of employment from the University of Pennsylvania Museum, which hired him to travel to northern Minnesota to purchase Native American artifacts from the region. It was during this summer that Eastman returned to the land, to languish in the memories of his youth.[119] David Reed Miller, Eastman's biographer, postulates that, "It was the Lake of the Woods area that reawakened in Charles his love of the wild life."[120] As a result of this renewed contact with the environment, Eastman's writings began to take on a deeper philosophical character. The northern trip

provided the impetus for the Soul of the Indian which was published in 1911. Here Eastman acknowledges strong environmental ties which are necessary for self-understanding, and he actively begins to question the plausibility of the Christian faith for Native peoples.

> Long before I ever heard of Christ, or saw a white man, I had learned from an untutored woman the essence of morality. With the help of dear Nature herself, she taught me things simple but of mighty import. I knew God. I perceived what goodness is. I saw and loved what is really beautiful. Civilization has not taught me anything better.[121]

Eastman's process of introspection would eventually lead to drastic changes in his life.

The period after 1910 strongly links Eastman to the formation of the outdoor ethic. His published articles were practical pieces that were intended to inform popular readers about the benefits of interacting with nature.

> Throughout the second decade of the Twentieth Century, Charles continued writing with Elaine's assistance. His articles, although more philosophical, continued to range widely in subject on various aspects of Indian culture, traditions, and current problems and conditions. His belief in the out-of-doors was vividly a part of the titles of articles, such as "Education without Books," "Song of the Birch Canoe," "The Language of Foot Prints," and "What the Out of Doors Can Do For Children."[122]

Eastman's interests would bring him into contact with Ernest Thompson Seton, and the emergence of the scouting movement in North America. The earliest meeting between Eastman and Seton has not been documented in the literature, but there is good reason to believe that they were acquaintances before 1910. Seton refers to Eastman in his

autobiography, Trail of an Artist-Naturalist, as "my old sioux friend, Charles Eastman (Ohiyesa)."[123] This statement, when combined with the fact that Eastman authored Indian Scout Talks: A Guide for Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls in 1914, assures an early connection between the two. In 1914, and in the prior year Eastman's publication was being prepared, Ernest Thompson Seton was the key figure in American scouting. This publication could not have surfaced without the support and unqualified endorsement of Seton. Both men had mutual interests, there is no hint or mention of a rift between the two outdoorsmen in the literature, and Eastman was one of the people who heartily assisted in the preparation of Seton's The Gospel of the Redman which was not published until 1936.

Charles Eastman adopted traditional Santee regalia for his public lectures and presentations during 1910, and continued this practice until his death. There is little doubt that this activity heightened the emotional impact of his talks, but one can only speculate on the reasons he donned authentic native dress. The clothing may have been a mark of showmanship, or an honest effort to reconvey the attributes of the American Indian to his audiences by holding their visual and aural attention. Whatever the reason, Charles Eastman's presentations were extremely popular, and he became one of the most prominent Indians in the United States.

In 1911, Charles Eastman became one of the founding members of the Society of American Indians (SAI). This organization was founded on the campus of Ohio State University in the spring of that year. The SAI became the most powerful and prestigious Indian association in the early twentieth century, and as one of the most highly educated and influential Indians in America, Eastman's participation was sought by the organization. Eastman has been characterized at this period of time as the "unofficial dean of the progressive and educated Indian."[124] Eastman was not active in the Society after the initial formation of the group until he assumed the presidency for 1919, and his association was again brief, because in early 1920 he severed connections with the Society.

Charles Eastman was extremely busy with camping ventures between 1911 and 1920 and this interferred with his full participation in the Society of American Indians. Eastman continued to write during these years, and the family made an effort to live a more "natural" life.

> The Eastman family sought to translate their love for the out-of-doors into an occupation to support the family. Already popular among the newly-founded Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls, Charles became fascinated with the American fad of camping out or "roughin it."[125]

In the summer of 1914 Eastman began working in organized scouting and was hired as the director of Camp Archibald Butt, in Maryland, which was one of the largest Boy Scout camps in the nation.[126] The Eastman's began to explore

the idea of owning and operating their own camp. The idea became a reality in 1915, when the Eastman family opened the School of The Woods. This camp was a girls facility and it was located on Granite Lake in Keene, New Hampshire.[127] The camp brochure for the 1915 session of the School of the Woods vividly portrays Native American influences.

> THE AIMS AND IDEALS of this new camp will be in line with the best thought of today, which is striking in harmony with the original philosophy of the Native American.
> THE AMERICAN INDIAN is our national model as an expert woodsmen, and the hero of the younger generation.[128]

This initial effort would prove a success, and a boys camp was planned to open in the future.

During the 1916 camping season, the Eastmans changed the name of the girl's camp to "Oahe", which translates from Santee to English as "the hill of vision."[129] In 1916 Charles Eastman also published his most prophetic work: From the Deep Woods to Civilization.[130] The publication of this text marked a near total transition in Eastman's life: If not a transition, a regression to earlier meaning and significance, which was provided by his traditional Santee upbringing. From the Deep Woods to Civilization is the continuation of Eastman's autobiography which he began in The Soul of the Indian. The book is a strong condemnation of Christianity, and a rejection of modern society.

> From the time I first accepted the Christ ideal it has grown upon me steadily, but I also see more and more plainly our modern divergence from that ideal. I confess I have wondered much that

> Christianity is not practiced by the very people who vouch for that wonderful conception of exemplary living. It appears that they are anxious to pass on their religion to all races of men, but keep very ltitle of it for themselves. I have not yet seen the meek inherit the earth, or the peacemakers receive high honor.[131]

The publication of this text marked the end of Eastman's serious literary career.

In 1917 the Eastmans attempted to open a boys camp near the site of Oahe. A promotional brochure was prepared for the summer season of 1917, and Camp Ohiyesa was endorsed by Hamlin Garland, Richard Henry Pratt, the founder of the Carlisle Indian School, and Ernest Thompson Seton. Seton's comments on the flyer read: "You have all the gifts necessary to make a splendid original camp scheme go."[132] The camp was never opened though, and the reasons for this can only be speculated. It may have been that there was parental resistance to the coeducational nature of the facility, or it may have been the lack of capital to finance the needed additions to the camp to accomadate the new campers. Whatever the reason, only Camp Oahe continued to operate.

During the year of 1917, the Eastman's only son, Ohiyesa, joined the army and eventually sailed for the war in Europe. In the same year tragedy struck the family when Irene Eastman, one of the very talented daughters of Elaine and Charles, died during the flu epidemic that ravaged the east coast.[133] The death of his daughter greatly affected Charles, and he often wandered the woods seeking

solitude and consolation.[134] The camp continued to thrive under the supervision of Elaine, while Charles removed himself from the operation of the camp whenever possible. He still performed duties at the facility, but preferred to tell stories, or lead expeditions into the woods. He was a figure-head for the camp and still exerted drawing power to entice new outdoor enthusiasts to the facility.

In the fall of 1918, an event occurred which provides some insight into the character of Charles Eastman. In that year, Eastman was apprehended for hunting out of season. When taken before the justice of the peace and asked if he pled innocent or guilty, Eastman responded that he was an Indian and could rightfully take game for his personal subsistence. Interestingly, the judge agreed, and Eastman was released.[135]

By 1920 Camp Oahe was in financial trouble. The Eastman's marriage had been under a great deal of strain since the death of Irene, and there are some indications that it was in jeopardy long before that. A threatened paternity suit against Charles Eastman by one of the camp personnel ended Charles' and Elaine's life together. The allegation seems to be unfounded, but Charles deeded the camp to his wife and left New England.[136]

For a very brief period of time he worked as a lobbyist for the Santee Sioux who were about to be paid an annuity from the federal government which was related to the claim that Charles Eastman had assisted them with in 1898.

Eastman eventually received a payment of $5,000.00 for his efforts and this undoubtedly helped his financial situation, since he left New England destitute. Shortly after Eastman received his fee, he was appointed as an inspector in the Indian service and in the summer of 1923 he traveled extensively performing his duties. Eastman selected a delegation of Sioux to particiapte in the festivities that accompanied the trip of David Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of Great Britian, to Canada and the United States. Eastman coordinated the event, and when George entered Minneapolis, the Cheyenne River delegation of Sioux were waiting for him with gifts. Eastman acted as translator and answered the questions that the Prime Minister had about the American Indian.[137]

Eastman continued in the Indian service until 1925, and was forced to resign for health reasons. He had just completed a report on the burial place and history of Sakakawea (Hidatsa spelling that translates to Bird Woman; Sacajawea is the Shoshone spelling and this translates to boat-pusher)[138] which was seriously debated during this period of time. Eastman's report supported the notion that she had died as an elderly woman. This confirmed the popular theory of the day which had been used as a political argument in assisting women to get the vote. For the remainder of his life, Charles Eastman lived by giving public lectures, by the republication of his books, many of which were endorsed by George Bird Grinnell, and by

"performances" of Indian lore. Performances may be a misnomer in this case, because Eastman began to practice the "Old Ways" of the Santee and undoubtedly approached these things with an honest respect and reverence.

Eastman eventually built a cabin in Desbartes, Ontario spending summers there and his winters in Detroit with his only son, Ohiyesa.

> During the winter in the Detroit area, Charles involved himself in activities of the Boy Scouts and YMCA. The YMCA was especially appreciative of his positive effect upon boys and consequently renamed the regional YMCA camp at Fish Lake near Holly, Michigan, Camp Ohiyesa in his honor. He often danced and entertained the boys for both the Scouts and the YMCA.[139]

Charles' activities deminished as his advanced age began to take effect. He traveled infrequently but was still a very popular figure. His books were waning in popularity though, and Eastman lamented the fact that he could not produce the quality of literature he had in the past with the assistance of Elaine. In 1938, he returned to Granite Lake and the former site of Camp Oahe, to reminisce the most enjoyable days of his life. No doubt he pondered the death of his favorite daughter, Irene, and visited the grave which was unmarked and located on the Eastman property. This may have been a pilgrimage of sorts, for Charles Eastman died in Detroit on January 11, 1939.

Eastman's life was a study in cultural contact. From traditional Santee origins, to the seats of academia and political power. From the "pagan" rites of the Lakota,

to evagelism on behalf of the Y.M.C.A.; and then back again, to traditions that were deeply rooted in nature. His influence during his life time was widespread as he consistently posited the notion that people can learn from the environment. These beliefs brought him into contact with Ernest Thompson Seton, Hamlin Garland and George Bird Grinnell, who shared Eastman's opinions and perceptions of Native peoples. These men exerted tremendous power over the environmental images and ethics that were being formulated at the turn of the Twentieth Century, and many of these perceptions can be directly attributed to their contact with Native Americans. Generations that would grow to maturity in the early twentieth century would carry with them vivid images of Native American conservation, land ethics, and the personal essence of man's "sacred" relationship to the world. This image was founded in truth, for it was the reality that had been experienced by Eastman, Seton, Garland and Grinnell. The words of Mrs. Malcolm Wallace, who resided near Eastman's cabin in Desbartes, summarize the impact of Eastman and the ideals of Seton, Garland and Grinnell.

> He was convinced that the civilization of the North American Indian was the noblest the world has ever seen. He admitted that they could not pile bricks, nor drive sharp bargins, but they valued truth above all else; a lie was the greatest sin anyone could commit, the only sin which deserved capital punishment. They believed that the strong should help the weak, that worldly goods should be held in common, that each individual should be trained to endure hardship, pain and sorrow, and that no one should defraud his neighbor. He may have idealized the

life of his ancestors, but he was a good example of the faith he held, gentle, kindly, sensitive, gracious to those of humble or high degree, I feel that our lives are richer for having known him.[140]

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

[1]Stephen Fox. John Muir and His Legacy. New York: Little, Brown and Co., 1981, p. 121.

[2]Ibid. p. 150.

[3]Samuel P. Hays. Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920. New York: Atheneum, 1980, p. 57.

[4]Gifford Pinchot. Breaking New Ground. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947, p. 25.

[5]F.G. Speck. "Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of the Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley", Ottawa: Memoir 70, No. 8, Anthropological Series, Government Printing Bureau, p. 5.

[6]Op. Cit. Fox, p. 315.

[7]Ibid. p. 314.

[8]Department of Natural Resources, State of Michigan, personal communication.

[9]The Lansing State Journal. "Outdoor Notes", Sunday, August 1, 1982, p. 8C.

[10]Op. Cit. Fox, p. 52.

[11]Ibid. p. 350.

[12]Ibid. p. 351.

[13]John F. Reiger. The Passing of the Great West: Selected Papers of George Bird Grinnell. New York: Winchester Press, 1972, p. 143.

[14]Editorial, "Where we Stand," Forest and Stream, Vol. 25, No. 18, November 26, 1885, p. 341.

[15]Editorial, "The Indians' Lands," Forest and Stream, Vol. 24, No. 25, January 7, 1886, p. 462.

[16]Ibid. p. 462.

[17]Ibid. p. 462.

[18]Ibid. p. 462.

[19]Op. Cit. Reiger, p. 26-27.

[20]Ibid. p. 23-24.

[21]Ibid. p. 37.

[22]Lonnie E. Underhill and Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr. Hamlin Garland's Observations on the American Indian, 1895-1905. Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press, 1976, p. 28.

[23]James Willard Schultz. My Life as an Indian. New York: Fawcett Columbine Books, 1981, p. 215. This text is a reprint of the 1905 edition.

[24]Ibid. p. 219.

[25]Op. cit. Reiger, p. 151.

[26]Editorial, "Indians at Work," Forest and Stream, Vol. 25, No. 13, October 22, 1885, p. 242.

[27]See Forest and Stream, Vol. 33, No. 12, October 10, 1889, p. 221. Grinnell's Pawnee book is referred to as "yo's" Pawnee Book.

[28]Geroge Bird Grinnell, editorial note to James Willard Schultz's, My Life as an Indian. London: John Murray, 1907. This note only appeared in the Murray edition of the text.

[29]See Forest and Stream, Vol. 25, No. 12, October 15, 1885, p. 221; Vol. 25, No. 14, October 29, 1885, p. 261; Vol. 25, No. 14, October 29, 1885, p. 262; Vol. 26, Vol. 26, No. 4, February 18, 1886, p. 61.

[30]Editorial, "A Nations Honor," Forest and Stream, Vol. 26, No. 13, April 22, 1886, p. 241.

[31]Editorial, "Capture of the Crow Reserve," Forest and Stream, Vol. 26, No. 21, June 17, 1886, p. 405.

[32]George Bird Grinnell. Hunting At High Altitudes: The Book of the Boone and Crockett Club. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1913, p. 436-441.

[33]"The Boone and Crockett Club" Forest and Stream, Vol. 30, No. 7, March 8, 1888, p. 124.

[34]Op. Cit. Hays, p. 40.

[35]Op. Cit. Grinnell, Hunting at High Altitudes, p. 507-411.

[36]Op. Cit. Reiger, p. 153.

[37]Ibid. p. 68-69.

[38]Op. Cit. Fox, p. 61.

[39]John Burroughs. "Real and Sham Natural History"," Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 91, March, 1903, p. 298-309.

[40]Op. Cit. Fox, p. 119.

[41]Ernest Thompson Seton. The Natural History of the Ten Commandments. Santa Fe: The Seton Village Press, 1938, p. 63-64.

[42]Ernest Thompson Seton. Trail of an Artist-Naturalist. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941, p. 367.

[43]Ibid. p. 368.

[44]John Burroughs. "The Literary Treatment of Nature," Atlantic Monthly, July 1904, p. 42.

[45]Hamlin Garland. Companions on the Trail. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1931, p. 224.

[46]Ernest Thompson Seton. Sign Talk: A Universal Signal Code Without Apparatus for Use in Army, Navy, Camping Hunting and Daily Life. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1918, p. xxxvi.

[47]Ernest Thompson Seton. The Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore, (11th Edition of Birch Bark Rolls). New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1917, p. v.

[48]Ibid. p. vi.

[49]Ernest Thompson Seton. Ernest Thompson Seton's America: Selections From The Writings of the Artist-Naturalist, edited by Farinda A. Wiley. New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1954, p. ix.

[50]Op. Cit. Seton, Trail of an Artist-Naturalist, p. 376.

[51]William Hillcourt. Baden-Powell: The Two Lives of a Hero. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1964, p. 257.

[52]William D. Murray. The History of the Boy Scouts of America. New York: Boy Scouts of America, 1937, p. 41-42.

[53]Boy Scouts of America, "The Founders," February, 1977. This is a handout that the B.S.A. sends out upon request.

[54]David Kay. "The Boy Scouts of America in the World I Era," unpublished paper. The University of Chicago, 1981, p. 17-18.

[55]Ibid. p. 21.

[56]Ibid. p. 18.

[57]Ibid. p. 18.

[58]Ibid. p. 19.

[59]Ibid. p. 19.

[60]Ibid. p. 20.

[61]Op. Cit. Seton, Trail of an Artist-Naturalist, p. 386-387.

[62]Ibid. p. 387.

[63]Ernest Thompson Seton. The Gospel of the Redman. Santa Fe: Seton Village, 1936, p. vii.

[64]Ibid. p. 1.

[65]Ibid. p. 112.

[66]Ibid. p. 115-117.

[67]Ibid. p. 118.

[68]Ibid. p. 13.

[69]Jean Holloway. Hamlin Garland: A Biography. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1960, p. 12.

[70]Ibid. p. 126.

[71]Hamlin Garland. Roadside Meetings. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1930, p. 296.

[72]Ibid. p. 327.

[73]Op. Cit. Underhill and Littlefield, p. 14.

[74]Ibid. p. 18.

[75]Ibid. p. 27.

[76]Ibid. p. 28.

[77]Op. Cit. Garland, Companions on the Trail, p. 23.

[78]Ibid. p. 26.

[79]Ibid. p. 135.

[80]Ibid. p. 136.

[81]Ibid. p. 137.

[82]Op. Cit. Underhill and Littlefield, p. 46-47.

[83]Letter to Hamlin Garland from George Bird Grinnell, New York, November 22, 1902. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Library, Hamlin Garland Papers.

[84]Op. Cit. Garland, Companions on the Trail, p. 279.

[85]Ibid. p. 285-286.

[86]Ibid. p. 289-290.

[87]Op. Cit. Holloway, p. 207.

[88]Donald Pizer, Editor. Hamlin Garland's Diaries. San Mariano, California: The Huntington Library, 1968, p. 185.

[89]Op. Cit. Holloway, p. 181.

[90]Hamlin Garland. The Book of the American Indian. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1923.

[91]Op. Cit. Underhill and Littlefield, p. 55.

[92]Op. Cit. Holloway, p. 272.

[93]See Ralph K. Andrist, The Long Death. New York: The MacMillian Company, 1964.

[94]David Reed Miller. "Charles Alexander Eastman: One Man's Journey in Two Worlds." Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of North Dakota, 1975, p. 32.

[95]Ibid. p. 33.

[96]Ibid. p. 39.

[97]Charles Alexander Eatsman. Indian Boyhood. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1902.

[98]Op. Cit. Miller, p. 54.

[99]Ibid. p. 56.

[100]Ibid. p. 71.

[101]Ibid. p. 78.

[102]Ibid. p. 84.

[103]Ibid. p. 94.

[104]Ibid. p. 125-126.

[105]Ibid. p. 130.

[106]Ibid. p. 156.

[107]Ibid. p. 163.

[108]Ibid. p. 174.

[109]See Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1975, p. 53-55.

[110]Op. Cit. Eastman.

[111]Letter to Charles Alexander Eastman from George Bird Grinnell, December 30, 1902. Fairfield, Connecticut: Grinnell File, Birdcraft Museum of the Connecticut Audubon Society.

[112]Op. Cit. Miller, p. 191.

[113]Ibid. p. 201.

[114]Ibid. p. 212.

[115]Charles Alexander Eastman. Red Hunters and Animal People. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1904.

[116]Op. Cit. Miller, p. 237.

[117]Ibid. p. 237.

[118]James D. McLaird. "From the Deep Woods to Civilization"; Charles Alexander Eastman, Dakota Author, Dakota Book News, 3, January, 1968, p. 7.

[119]Op. Cit. Miller, p. 239.

[120]Ibid. p. 241.

[121]Charles Alexander Eastman. The Soul of the Indian: An Interpretation. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911, p. 87.

[122]Op. Cit. Miller, p. 242-243.

[123]Op. Cit. Seton, Trail of an Artist-Naturalist, p. 275.

[124]Op. Cit. Miller, p. 251.

[125]Ibid. p. 260.

[126]Ibid. p. 260.

[127]Ibid. p. 261.

[128]School of the Woods camp brochure, 1915. Amherst, Massachusetts: The Jones Library, Eastman Collection.

[129]Op. Cit. Miller, p. 263.

[130]Charles Alexander Eastman. From the Deep Woods to Civilization. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1916.

[131]Ibid. p. 96.

[132]Camp Ohiyesa brochure, 1917. Edward Bennett Collections, Lake Forest, Illinois, Charles Eastman.

[133]Op. Cit. Miller, p. 264.

[134]Ibid. p. 265.

[135]Ibid. p. 266.

[136]Ibid. p. 269.

[137]Ibid. p. 285.

[138]Ibid. p. 301.

[139]Ibid. p. 322.

[140]Ibid. p. 329-330.

CHAPTER V

THE DISSEMINATION OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN-MODERN CONSERVATION ETHIC

George Bird Grinnell, Ernest Thompson Seton, Hamlin Garland, and Charles Alexander Eastman played a major role in disseminating an outdoor ethic that relied heavily upon Native American philosophical insights. Grinnell and Seton were directly involved with the formation of the conservation ethic at the turn of the twentieth century, and they were, to a large extent, influenced in their thinking and actions by Native American ideals. All four authors were extensively published in popular magazines and youth publications, and their efforts reached millions of readers in the early twentieth century. Their writings accurately described Native Americans and treated the "Indian" as an individual, rather than as a glossy generalization that was highly reminiscent of savagism. Their influence can be measured by the environmental movements that followed or those that were analogous in concern and scope to the activities that Grinnell, Seton, Garland and Eastman began. The "Indian" lore that is still a part of every camping program or activity in this country. reflects the enormous influence of Grinnell, Seton,

Garland, and Eastman. They disseminated an image of the Native American as conservationist, ethical hunter, and a vivid characterization of the Native American as environmental "caretaker" and wise sage. These depictions, whether presented in literature, lecture, or experiential setting, were lessons that Grinnell, Seton, Garland and Eastman believed were true. These "lessons" were more than simple fact, they were strategies for environmental survival in the future.

The dissemination of Native American philosophy/spirituality that influenced the formation of the conservation ethic was accomplished through many popular vehicles. The youth magazine was used extensively by Grinnell, Seton, Garland, and Eastman, and certain texts by these authors were issued in a form that was sure to appeal to youth. George Bird Grinnell began to publish a series of children's books in 1899. The first was entitled, Jack the Young Cowboy. Jack Among the Indians was published in the next year, and Grinnell's depiction of Native Americans was significantly different from the non-Indian hero legacies that were created by the dime novels, which by this time, had run their course.[1] Grinnell's descriptions of Native peoples demonstrated the human qualities and the individuality of these people. This is in stark contrast to the distortion that was often passed to the readership of the earlier dime novels. Oliver Gloux, a Frenchman who had resided in the west working as a hunter and trapper,

returned to France to write about his experiences in America. He wrote under the name of Gustav Aimard and published Prairie Flower in 1878. This novel clearly reflects the license that was taken with subject matter in the west, for Aimard describes ostriches, which he claimed were still abundant in the west, being chased by "red-skins" for amusement.[2] Grinnell's writings retained an honesty that was founded upon his contact with and observations of Native peoples and he never compromised his perceptions of Native Americans for the purpose of spinning a "yarn."

The works of Ernest Thompson Seton and Charles Eastman were no less influential in forming attitudes of Native peoples than were Grinnell's publications. As a matter of fact, Seton and Eastman directly sought the younger audiences as recipients of their messages. Eastman's first publications were in St. Nicholas: An Illustrated Magazine for Young Folks, and his books were popular with the young readers of the day. Seton, like Eastman, has been described as "a very popular children's writer," and many of his publications appeared in youth oriented magazines and periodicals.[3] St. Nicholas, Boys Life, and American Boy printed stories and articles that were penned by Seton, and his enormous contributions to the literature of scouting must be included in his "youth" writings. His scouting publications were most often referred to as the Birch Bark Rolls. Julia Seton contends that there were

thirty editions of the Birch Bark Rolls, and these handbooks were printed from 1902 until the early 1930's.[4] The second Birch Bark Roll is entitled How To Play Indian, was intended to be used in conjunction with "Seton's Indians."[5] Seton's later involvement with the Boy Scouts of America, and Eastman's work with the Y.M.C.A. and the Boy Scouts, further supports the influence of these men upon the attitudes of young Americans.

Seton, Eastman, Garland and Grinnell had a profound effect upon mature readers of the day. Although some of the literary efforts of these men have been loosely labeled "children's books," their contributions to the adult world of letters were enormous. The majority of Grinnell's works, as well as Seton's, Garland's, and Eastman's, were intended for adult audiences. Seton's Lives of Game Animals was issued in four volumes between 1925 and 1928 and is considered to be one of the finest professional sources of its kind in North America.[6] Eastman's Indian Boyhood, The Soul of the Indian, and From the Deep Woods to Civilization present autobiographical material and are very philosophical. In certain instances these works are highly critical of American morals and conduct; hardly the stuff that makes for good children's reading. Hamlin Garland's works have been studied in the vein of elite literature in the twentieth century. Of course not all of Garland's efforts approximate the "pinacle" of literary achievement in the twentieth century,

but many of his writings, Main-Travelled Roads, A Daughter of the Middle Border, and others, are still critical additions to American literature at the turn of the century. The influence of Garland, Grinnell, Eastman and Seton had a pervasive influence on young and old alike.

One of the most prominent vehicles for the dissemination of Native American philosophy other than youth magazines and popular publications was the outdoor magazine. George Bird Grinnell, as the editor of Forest and Stream, the largest outdoor publication at the turn of the century, was in a perfect position to present Indian material to the public. Grinnell became the editor of Forest and Stream in 1880, and used the newspaper as a platform to express his views on the Indian problem, and to present ethnographic information about Native Americans to the public. Forest and Stream was initially organized in 1873 and published weekly newspapers that covered sporting pursuits of interest to men and women. The paper had a section for kennels, natural history, yachting, sea and river fishing, fish culture, game bag and gun, the sportsmen tourist, and editorials. Canoeing became a regular feature during the 1880's as this activity gained in popularity with outdoor enthusiasts and rifle and trap shooting also became a regular feature during the same decade. The attitude of Forest and Stream concerning Native Americans changed radically after George Bird Grinnell assumed the editorial control of the magazine/ newspaper.

The articles that Forest and Stream initially published about Native Americans reflected the nature of contemporary relations between the federal government and Native peoples. In the 1870's hostilities occurred frequently in the American West, and of course the articles that appeared in the popular outdoor publications reflected this hostility. For instance, there is an article in the November 27, 1873 edition of Forest and Stream that was written by George Custer and was originally printed in Galaxy. The piece, entitled, "Indian Smoke Signals," discusses the use and efficiency of smoke signals for communicative purposes on the plains[8] and appeared almost three years before Custer met his defeat at the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Another article that focused on conflict between Indian-white factions was included in the January 13, 1876 Forest and Stream. "The Indians at St. Augustine" is a classic description of the Kiowa and Cheyenne prisoners of war who were incarcerated at Ft. Marion, Florida.[9] These prisoners were under the supervision of Captain Richard Henry Pratt, who eventually established the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. The Kiowa and Cheyenne prisoners were tourist curiosities in 1876, and they danced and made trinkets to entertain the gapping visitors. Certain Indian captives even went on hunting expeditions with local sportsmen who observed "Indian" conduct and mannerisms in the woods. The prisoners eventually participated in an enomous spectacle which was led by White Horse, a Kiowa Chief,

that attracted between 1200 and 1500 onlookers. White Horse led the POW's in an "authentic" buffalo hunt, while the spectators closed in to watch the killing, butchering, and skinning of the animal. The buffalo had been shipped east by railway, and was considered to be a prime specimen of the free-ranging bison. Numerous spectators stayed to watch the captives cook and feast on the buffalo meat. Obviously, no aspect of their behavior went unnoticed and this demonstrates the interest that the general populus focused on "Indians."

Some of the early articles that appeared in Forest and Stream, particularly those that were written shortly after Custer's resounding defeat, were staunchly anti-Indian. The July 20, 1876 edition of the magazine carried an editorial entitled, "Indian's Arms," which decried supplying modern guns to the "savages" of the west because it was feared that these weapons would be "used against helpless women and children on the frontier."[10] After George Bird Grinnell became the editor in 1880 this type of journalistic fervor decreased, but there must have been strong resistance to pro-Indian articles, for the editorial advocacy of Grinnell does not begin until 1885. The defeat of Custer and the Seventh Cavalry was evidently a "tough pill" to swallow, and this was eventually made palatable by the confinement of nearly all western Native Americans to reservations by 1885.

Grinnell's advocacy began in earnest in 1885, and much of this has already been described. This period of time also witnessed a tremendous upsurge in ethnographic articles that focused on Native peoples. Indian crafts, stories and songs began to appear in Forest and Stream, and as the former hostilities faded into the memories of the readership, opportunities to learn from "Indian" practices became more frequent. By late 1889, almost every issue of Forest and Stream would contain at least one article pertaining to Indian adaptations and "traditional" practices. There is little doubt that these features were supported by Grinnell. These ethnographic descriptions were of interest to readers, but they also counteracted the popular perception of the Native American as "savage" or "heathen" because they presented the intelligent actions, skills and abilities of Native peoples. These articles were subtle vehicles for changing the attitudes of non-Indian populations toward Native peoples, and they had the effect of formalizing the image of Native Americans as conservationists. Forest and Stream began this tradition of recognizing the skills and contributions of Native Americans on the pages of outdoor magazines, but it was Field and Stream that would perfect the "Indian connection."

Field and Stream magazine was originally founded in 1895 as Northwest Field and Stream and was edited by John Burkhard. The editorial offices were located in St. Paul, Minnesota, and in 1896 the name of the magazine was changed

to Western Field and Stream. In 1898, the magazine's offices were moved to New York City, and the name Western Field and Stream was retained.[11] The name of the magazine would eventually become, Field and Stream, and in July of 1930, Field and Stream would merge with Forest and Stream. The July issue of Forest and Stream was the last weekly publication of that magazine. That edition carried a feature entitled, "Hail, and Farewell," which announced the takeover of "name and subscription list" by Field and Stream, which was then published by Elton F. Warner, and edited by Ray Holland.[12]

The early editions of Field and Stream contain numerous articles on Native Americans that describe the participation of Native peoples in outdoor activities or events. In the April, 1901 edition of Field and Stream there is an article entitled, "Lights and Shades at the Sportsman's Show," written by Alvah Dorsey James, which describes a group of Ojibwe who presented a drama in their village setting at the show.[13] The exhibit was funded by the Canadian Pacific Railway, Co., and this again demonstrates the interest that outdoor enthusiasts had in Native peoples. There was a strong interest and desire to know how Native peoples lived, and this curiosity was tied to the ability of Native Americans to live in the natural environment and use their surroundings to provide the necessities of life. Another consistant theme in Field and Stream is the Indian guide who provides information to tourist-sportsmen about local

sporting opportunities. "With Rod and Paddle on the Headwaters of the Ottawa," by J.E. Meiers, is a good example of this type of reporting.[14] The Native American guides are the experts, and the sportsmen are the novitiates, who learn from Native peoples. Things had not changed much from the time of Thoreau's trips to Maine.

Field and Stream also included a number of ethnographic accounts about Native peoples. "A Day in the Desert," which described life in the arid southwest, and "The Snake Dancers," which recounted the ceremonies and home life of the Hopi, were included in the July and August, 1904 editions.[15] Ethnographic insights of Native peoples were also presented in the regular feature column of Marstyn Pogue. Pogue's articles were always entitled, "Moccassin Tracks," and he parenthetically referred to himself as (Trail Maker).[16] Pogue's columns used numerous Ojibwe words that were translated in the text of the article, and he recounted Native American animal stories to teach the characteristics of certain wildlife species. Pogue relied very heavily on Native American accounts to reinforce the credibility of what he was writing about. "The Phantom Canoe of Beaubocage Lake," which was told to Pogue by Michigan Shegog (skunk), and "Memory Pictures of Summer," are Indian stories that also teach morals and depict man-environment relations.[17] Pogue was undoubtedly capitalizing on the contemporary perception of Native Americans as outdoor informants to substantiate his message to the readership.

The most interesting feature of Field and Stream that visually linked Native peoples with the formation of the outdoor ethic was the editorial page of the magazine which was entitled, "In the Council Lodge." The graphic heading of the first "In the Council Lodge" editorials, depicted a western plains scene of a Teepee encampment with a ceremonial pipe draped across the corner of the grpahic (Figure 1).[18] This vivid depiction of a Native American village with the accompanying environmental images is a concrete tie between the philosophy of Native peoples and the formation of the conservation ethic. "In the Council Lodge," was used to convey the environmental messages of the editors of Field and Stream to subscribers and the wording of the editorial heading suggested that editor/reader were "sitting" in the lodge (Teepee), which of course reflected wisdom and environmental knowledge. In June of 1900 "In the Council Lodge," stated that "those who meet here are on neutral ground and speak a common language," and in August of the same year, the editorial proposed "Early training" of conservationist thought of young children to instill outdoor ethics.[19] Again, these ideas were reinforced by using Native Americans as credible sources.

"In the Council Lodge," was used by the editorial staff of Field and Stream to convey conservation messages. In the June and July editions of 1901, under the heading "In the Council Lodge," the editors reminded the readership of the magazine what was legal and non-legal game at that

Figure 1 - Editorial Page, Field and Stream, June, 1900.

Figure 2 - Editorial Page, Field and Stream, June, 1902.

time of year. The editors requested the "moral aid" of all sportsmen to enforce game laws, and suggested that this could be partially achieved by ignoring restaurateurs menus that include game that is out of season, and they proposed a boycott of trafficking in illegal game.[20] In November of 1901, "In the Council Lodge," had an ethical statement under the Native American graphic that reiterated the need for personal responsibility afield.

> It rests upon every man of us who loves his gun, his game and his world, to teach high principles of sport everywhere, and always by personal influence of precept and example.[21]

These obvious ties with the popular conception of Native Americans as conservators were based in fact, not perpetuated myth, and were consistently made over a five year period of time by Field and Stream. During that period of time, when the Native American graphic appeared, June, 1900-March, 1905, numerous other environmental and ethical messages were conveyed to the readership. The editorials sought to "teach the small boy moderation" (not to kill song birds), to refute "The Mark of Greed," by developing an ethic that would counteract the ireesponsibility of market hunters, and to intelligently consider the future of animal populations and habitat.[22] All of these messages were silently sanctioned by onlooking Native Americans. Native peoples were the graphic sources of these environmental ethics, and they were lending their support to the restatement of these messages by the editors of Field and Stream.

"In the Council Lodge," went through four graphic designs while it was used on the editorial page of Field and Stream. The first illustration (Figure 1) was used from June 1900 until May 1902. The June 1902 graphic has some interesting additions to it: noticably a hatchet and bow and arrows (Figure 2).[23] This would continue to be the illustration for "In the Council Lodge," until October of 1903. The November, 1903 graphic would depict a Native Amreican pipe smoker with three old men in the background (Figure 3).[24] This new illustration was significantly different from the previous graphics, and had a wise but ominous character to it and it would continue to be used until March of 1905. The April, 1905 editorial page of Field and Stream would have a new graphic and a new name. The editorial page would no longer be known as "In the Council Lodge," but as "The Council Lodge," and the new illustration demonstrates why the name change was needed (Figure 4).[25] Native Americans had been supplanted as the credibility source for environmental messages and replaced by a pipe smoking, boot shod outdoorsman at one end of a library table, and a cigar smoking business man at the other end. The outdoor ethic had been usurpted from Native peoples and placed completely within the confines of American intellectual thought.

This is an interesting point; since there is no question that Native peoples had a hand in the formation of conservationist thought and outdoor ethics, why should they

Figure 3 - Editorial Page, Field and Stream, November, 1903.

Figure 4 - Editorial Page, Field and Stream, April, 1905.

be pushed into the background and their contributions ignored? The answer lies in the social reality of Native American life at the turn of the twentieth century. There were very few spokesmen for Native peoples at this period of time, and their primary concerns were to achieve better living conditions for Native Americans confined on federal reservations. The conditions for Native American people in this country at the turn of the century were deplorable. Native peoples were dying as a result of federal neglect, and the greed of individual agents was contributing to ration shortages. The populations of Native Americans who were incarcerated on federal reservations did not resemble the honorable and majestic peoples that had existed only short decades before. Starving, disheveled Indians did not look like the "possessors" of the American West. By 1905, the American public was becoming aware of the conditions on reservations in the West. It's possible that the editors of Field and Stream consciously decided to discontinue the Native American graphics that headed the editorial page as a reaction to public knowledge that the "old ways" were rapidly deteriorating. It is more plausible though, that the editors simply chose to usurp the environmental image of Native peoples as their own. After all, Native Americans weren't there to protest, and what was wrong with propogating an environmentally sound idea? The editors continued to expound the ethic, but the connections between Native peoples and that message decreased over

time. Luckily though, there were numerous other Native American influences that could not be ignored.

On the morning of August 29, 1911, an event occurred that would significantly change the course of bow hunting in North America. On that morning a "wildman" was discovered near Oroville, California and was taken by the local sheriff to the town jail. The "wildman" was Ishi, or "man" in the Yahi language, and he was the last survivor of the southernmost Yana Tribe. His entire family group and tribe had succumbed to hostilities with California ranchers, diseases, or old age. As word rapidly spread of the "wildmans" capture, two University of California anthropologists becam interested in the case. Alfred Kroeber and T.T. Watterman from the State University took a particular interest in the incident, and eventually, Watterman was dispatched to the Oroville jail to examine the captive. Watterman attempted to converse with him using Native American languages which were indigenous to California. He tried and failed to communicate with the man and then tried the Yana language. Ishi did not recognize any of the phonetically written words which Watterman read until he spoke the word siwini (yellow pine), and Ishi's recognition confirmed that he was, indeed, a member of the Yahi. Further conversation proved that Ishi had been actively avoiding contact with white civilization, and that he had lived in a "traditional" manner all his life. He was, as Kroeber and Watterman explained, a stone-age man discovered in the twentieth century.

Watterman recorded his early observations of Ishi in a letter to the museum of the University of California at Berkeley.

> We had a lot of conversation this morning about deer hunting and making acorn soup, but I got as far as my list of words would take me. If I am not mistaken, he's full of religion - bathing at sunrise, putting out pinches of tobacco where the lightning strikes, etc.[26]

These early observations shed a great deal of light on the untainted perceptions of the environment by the Yana (Yahi) and the strength of religious beliefs in pre-contact society. Ishi was transported to the University of California Museum and was studied and befriended by Watterman and Kroeber. While at the museum, Ishi met Dr. Saxton Pope, who had received an appointment to teach at the university medical school which was next door to the museum. Pope was interested in the bow and arrow and discovered Ishi on the museum grounds constructing a bow. This initial event had a profound influence on Pope and he and Ishi became close friends and hunting companions. Pope had mastered sleight of hand, which he used to entertain his children, and because of his "magical" abilities, Ishi held him in great esteem.[27] Pope became part of a "team" that included Watterman and Kroeber, and they worked with Ishi to "discover" the secrets of his past existence.

Ishi became tremendously popular at the university museum, and hundreds of visitors patiently watched him make tools or start a fire with the bow drill.[28] He

adjusted very well to the museum environment and Pope kept a close watch on Ishi's health. Ishi gained an elemental grasp of the English language, and Watterman, Kroeber and Pope developed a working vocabulary in Yahi. Extensive recordings were made of Ishi's native language, and a serious study of the language was undertaken by the university anthropologists. In the spring of 1914, Watterman, Kroeber and Pope suggested to Ishi that they return to Ishi's homelands, the Mill Creek and Deer Creek region of Northern California. Ishi was hesitant to make the trip, and stated his reluctance by telling the museum staff that there were no comforts and facilities in the woods and that they would most likely be uncomfortable. Theodora Kroeber, in her text Ishi in Two Worlds postulates that there may have been other reasons. "It would be like going to the Land of the Dead. The unquiet souls of his murdered people lingered there, some of them."[30] Eventually Ishi conceded to the trip and readied himself for his return home.

> He packed his own best bows and quivers and arrows, his fire drill, his harpoon - tools made with loving care in the museum, and demonstrated there with pride. He was accustomed to seeing them on exhibit in museum cases, to having people look at them behind glass, but he had not thought he would be using them seriously, nor that he would be showing his new friends his old home. The smell of the pines on the slopes of Waganupa, the taste of fresh salmon and deer, the feel of the canon trails against bare feet, filled the senses, nostalgis, sweet, familiar.[31]

In May of 1914 the journey to Ishi's place of birth and the site of his entire life, until his capture, began.

It is interesting to note that the expedition, before it left for the foothills, obtained a permit for Ishi to shoot a deer from the California Fish and Game Commission. The commission issued a permit to the University of California and authorized Watterman, Kroeber and Pope as agents for the university. The permit stated that they could take "for scientific purposes one male deer at any time and in any such manner as the gentlemen mentioned above may select."[32] There was also a great deal of concern on the part of Watterman to make sure that Pope would accompany the expedition. In a letter to Kroeber, this worry became apparent.

> I feel this man (Pope) is made to order for us. I'd like to milk him dry. He could get Ishi's names for the plants a great deal better than I could. He knows more about it and would probably have more industry. He could pick up such information without fatiguing Ishi. You can't lure the man with funds. His time is worth $2.50 per twenty minutes for office calls, if he wants to earn money. I think the chance to shoot a deer with bow and arrow in aboriginal company and the opportunity to publish are the only bait we have for him. To preserve my standing with Ishi I should like to get him over to Berkely a good bit this spring, and get to be able to talk with him. I will try to make some plans to have him at my house. (Lengthy reference to Pope.) When I said Pope understands Ishi I meant emotionally, not linguistically. He has made firm friends with Ishi and they understand each other in that sense. They've got a good bit in common.[33]

It is clear that Pope and Ishi were very close friends who enjoyed the company of each other because of their mutual interests and experiences. It is also obvious that Watterman may not have cared for Ishi as deeply as he would have some people believe. Regardless of the problems that

were encountered and worked through, the trip reached fruition.

Saxton Pope's eleven year old son accompanied his father on this trip to Ishi's homelands, and one can only ponder the inexpressible joy that the youngster must have found in the company of Ishi and the "primitive" skills that the aging hunter taught the young boy. Ishi took considerable liking to Saxton Jr., and the young man was often the receipient of Ishi's teachings and explanations.

> They swam daily in the cold stream; they ate meat and fish which the hunters, Popey and Ishi, took with the bow and arrow or spear and broiled on forked sticks before an open fire. They sat around the fire singing to Popey's miniature guitar, or if the songs were Yahi, unaccompanied except by the rattle, Ishi taught Saxton Jr. to dance with him the simple stamping step of the Yahi circle dance to the rhythmic clapping of the hands supplementing Ishi's song.[34]

The trip made tremendous contributions to Yahi ethnography and the traditional lands and village sites of Ishi's deceased ancestors were recorded and mapped.

The task and long awaited pleasure of deer hunting was also earnestly pursued by Pope and Ishi. Their first day of hunting did not produce a deer, and Ishi tried to figure out what went wrong.

> Ishi asked reprovingly, "Who smoke?" and invoked a no-smoking ban for two days because the odor of the tobacco, a powerful and sacred substance, clings to the breath and the body and alarms the deer. After two days of this and other properly observed taboos they got their deer, proving Ishi's point.[35]

Pope, in his classic work, Hunting With the Bow and Arrow contends that he and Ishi never killed a deer while hunting together.

> Although Ishi took me on many deer hunts and we had several shots at deer, owing to the distance or the fall of the ground or obstructing trees, we registered nothing better than encouraging misses. He was undoubtably hampered by the presence of a novice, and unduly hastened by the white man's lack of time. His early death prevented our ultimate achievement in this matter, so it was only after he had gone to the Happy Hunting Grounds that I, profiting by his teachings, killed my first deer with the bow.[36]

Theodora Kroeber's book, Ishi in Two Worlds, which was published in 1961, clearly states that Ishi and/or Pope killed a deer on the 1914 hunting trip. Even though Pope denies that he and Ishi killed a deer while hunting together, he includes a picture entitled, "The Indian and a deer," which was obviously taken on the 1914 trip, in Hunting With the Bow and Arrow, which was issued in 1923.[37] Further, Pope plainly admits that he did not kill a deer with bow and arrow until after Ishi died. Kroeber's text was released thirty eight years after Pope had written about his contact with Ishi and his fascination with the bow and arrow. She undoubtedly had access to numerous sources that Pope may have been unaware of, including the personal papers of her husband, Alfred Kroeber. A. Kroeber may have made a note of the successful deer hunt of Pope and Ishi which his wife used when she prepared the 1961 publication. The question remains though, why would Pope try to hide the fact that Ishi had successfully taken a

deer on the 1914 trip to Mill Creek? The answer lies, in all probability, in the fact that the deer Ishi killed, while hunting with indigenous weapons and obsidian points, was a doe, and not a buck as the game commission had required. One can only wonder if Watterman, Kroeber or Pope informed Ishi about the limitations of the game commission permit, or simply allowed him to hunt either gender so as to gain greater ethnographic insights into Yahi behavior. It may have been a charitable act on the part of the three professionals from Berkeley, for they knew that in all liklihood Ishi would never have the opportunity to return to his homelands along Mill Creek again, and they allowed him to enjoy himself to the fullest extent. It may have been that Ishi was informed of the restrictions of the permit and he had listened to the words that Kroeber or Watterman told him, but when the deer, regardless of sex, walked into range of the subsistence hunter, he forgot everything except his well honed traditional skills: He killed the deer. After reading Watterman's remarks about Pope though, and considering his obvious "thirst" for Yahi ethnography, it would be a fair assumption that Watterman and Kroeber never made the requirements of the permit known to Ishi.

There is little doubt that Ishi had been taking game with the bow and arrow since his early boyhood. Pope was keenly interested in the technique Ishi used when shooting the bow, as well as the modes of constructing bows, points, and arrows.

> He knew the history and use of everything in the outdoor world. He spoke, the language of the animals. He taught me to make bows and arrows, how to shoot them, and how to hunt, Indian fashion. He was a wonderful companion in the woods, and many days and nights we journeyed together.[38]

Pope directly attributes the development of his interest in the bow and arrow to contact with Ishi. Pope, along with Art Young, who also shot targets with Ishi while he was at the University of California Museum, would eventually become the primary agents for popularizing bowhunting in the United States. As a matter of fact, the Pope and Young Club, which is the recording agency for trophy animals taken with bow and arrow in North America, is named after these two distinguished hunters. There is little doubt that Ishi played a major role in the dissemination of the bow hunting movement in this country. After Ishi's death, Pope referred to him as the man who "left us the heritage of the Bow."

The debt that bow hunters owe to Ishi will probably never be acknowledged. Pope's relationship with the Yahi is interesting, but few people have ever traced the popularization of bowhunting back to Native American origins and the Indian influences upon the most prominent of bowmen, Pope and Young. It is interesting to note that Pope pays homage to Ernest Thompson Seton for supporting the growth of archery in Hunting With the Bow and Arrow.

> Ernest Thompson Seton is another patron of archery to whom all who have read Two Little Savages must be eternally grateful. Not only has he given us a reviving touch of the outdoors, but he puts the bow and arrow in its true setting, a background of nature.[39]

More so than Seton, the influence of Pope and Young has been legendary upon bow hunting enthusiasts.

Fred Bear republished Hunting With the Bow and Arrow in 1974, and the new copyright was held by the Fred Bear Sports Club which advocates numerous rules of "fair Chase" while pursuing game animals.[40] Fred Bear, who is widely recognized as the "dean" of bowhunting for the last 40 years, has promoted the highest ideals for sporthunting with the bow and arrow. Bear, like Pope and Young, is firmly linked to the events that brought Ishi into contact with the populace of northern California in 1911. It was Ishi who taught the physical skills of bowmanship and the methods of hunting with the weapon to Pope, and later, to Art Young. Ishi also taught Pope the intricacies of nature and man's relationship to it. Ishi died on March 25, 1916 of tuberculosis which he contracted from contact with non-Indian populations. Like most Native Americans, Ishi had no immunological system for diseases that were not present on the North American Continent before contact with European populations. His belief in the sacredness of the earth and his perceptions of game animals were conveyed to Pope and from Pope and Young to generations of bowhunters, including Fred Bear, who recognized the need for an ethical relationship with the environment.

The dissemination of Native American philosophy and the formation of the conservation ethic are clearly illustrated by the relationship of Ishi and Pope. They

seem to be an unlikely pair; the one a "stoneage" man, the other a skilled surgeon and teacher, but they both believed in the necessity of man retaining age old ties with the environment. In reality, Ishi and Pope would not pose an enigma in comparison to some men who would disseminate Native American philosophy in the future. One man who created controversy while lecturing and writing on the Native American land ethic was Archie Belaney.

Archie Belaney was born in Hastings, England on September 18, 1888. His upbringing was characteristic of so many English families that had limited resources. He attended school, eventually completing his course of studies, and lived with two aunts and his grandmother, who tried to provide for him as best they could. He was an active child, and seemed to have a penchant for finding trouble.

> He did not conceal firearms in his pockets, but just as likely might produce from them a snake or a field mouse. Born eleven years before, and living at 36 St. Mary's Terrace, he was a delicate boy but full of devilment; and fascinated by woods and wild animals ... What with his camping out, his tracking of all and sundry, and wild hooting, he was more like a Red Indian than a respectable Grammar School boy.[41]

Belaney was a loner, and often spent his time exploring the wooded areas around his home. He was fascinated with Native Americans, and in his solitary wanderings attempted to emulate Indians in his behavior. The question of "How did the soul of an Indian find its way into a British boy," has puzzled Belaney's friends and biographers for many years.[42]

Archie Belaney emigrated to Canada via Halifax on April 6, 1906, and in that same year he appeared in Northern Ontario where he was eventually employed by Bill Guppy, a guide, trapper and outfitter. Bill Guppy introduced Belaney to the Ojibwe that resided on Lake Temagami in Ontario. Ironically, it was the Ojibwe who taught Bill Guppy the subtleties of the Lake Temagami region, and this environmental information was crucial because Guppy planned to build a camp there to service tourists and outdoor enthusiasts. The Temagami Lodge, owned and operated by Dan O'Connor, was built in the 1890's, and the Lake Temagami region was developing a splendid reputation as a "sportsmen's paradise."[43] Guppy hoped to exploit, or at least capitalize on, the influx of outsiders to the area who desired guides and outdoor experiences.

> Besides Archie, Mr. Guppy had engaged for his Temagami enterprise an Indian woman as camp cook, and an old Indian from the Bear Island band, whose knowledge of the surrounding country and the best fishing spots on Temagami and the neighbouring lakes would be necessary to increase their own range.[44]

The Temagami band would provide Archie Belaney with his first "real" contacts with Native Americans.

The contributions of Native Americans to the growth of the guide industry should be considered in relation to the Temagami region. The role of Native American guides has received limited attention in the literature and this phenomena is extremely important to understanding the role of Native Americans upon the formation of the conservation

ethic. Native Americans acted as the initial guides to non-Indian populations, and the repercussions of these actions had a significant impact on the future of Native peoples. This is clearly illustrated by an examination of the Bear Island Band of Ojibwes on Lake Temagami. Dan O'Connor and Bill Guppy needed the assistance of the Bear Island Band to learn the immediate territory and the nuances of local game populations. Native peoples conveyed this knowledge to the non-Indian "guides," as they would become known. One must consider the impact of this simple interaction on local indigenous populations. Non-Indians like O'Connor and Guppy would eventually establish camps in these locations and set up an immediate competition for animal resources. These men trapped and hunted for subsistence, activities which conflicted with the needs and historic use of resources by Indian groups. This competition led to a decreased standard of living for Native peoples, and as an adaptation, they were frequently forced to seek employment with non-Indian guides and outfitters. This dependency had enormous consequences on the "traditional" culture of Native Americans, for they were forced to remove themselves from the influence of non-Indian guides and entrepreneurs if they desired to propogate their historic customs and land use strategies. This in turn meant removal from prime resource locations, since the availability of resources was the reason for initial settlement patterns. They could either move to a new location or work for the

newly established lodges that catered to the recreational needs of affluent clientele. Indian women went to work as cooks and domestics, while Indian men were employed as guides and canoemen. These activities, of course, took time away from village functions and indigenous practices. The end result of this process was that Indians were displaced from "traditional" habitations and behavior patterns while the non-Indian "guide" derived the majority of monetary benefits from the labors of local Indians. Non-Indian guides would eventually usurp the occupation from the very people who introduced them into the geographic region.

This sequence is clearly demonstrated by Archie Belaney's association with the Temagami Ojibwe while he was in the employ of Bill Guppy. Michel Mathias, a local Ojibwe worked for Guppy when Archie began his apprenticeship as a trapper.[45]

> He learnt from his Indian companion many other things that were a by-product of these snowshoe trips: to interpret the tracks of animals and to judge the time since they had been made by the impression left on the snow; how to tell from the song of a bird or the cry of some little beast where life was hidden in this white wilderness that seemed so still and lifeless beneath its shroud.[46]

Archie Belaney learned to survive in the northern climes from local Indian peoples. In 1910 he married a woman of the Bear Island Band by the name of Angele Eguana, and this relationship solidifed Archie's bond with the Temagami Band. Frank Speck, the prominent anthropologist, conducted ehtnographic studies among the Temagami Ojibwe in 1913,

and included in his list of occupants at Bear Island the name of Angele Blaney (Belaney) and her daughter Agnes.[47] Agnes is listed as being a "half-breed," while Angele is remarked to have married a white man, evidently the first of the Bear Island Band to do so. The Temagami Ojibwe would exert a profound influence on Archie Belaney, and provide the basis for his conservationist activities in later years. This influence is summarized by Lovat Dickson in his biography of Archie Belaney.

> One can imagine Archie's thoughts. What he had seen that afternoon was time and a people standing still. Not people abject, defeated, purposeless, even though they were doomed to extinction before the advancement of civilization. But a people proud and far-seeing, who knew that Nature and Man would last an equal time, and that it was undignified as well as unwise to take more of the fruits of the earth than one needed, or to ask more of Nature than she needs yield to keep one alive.[48]

Belaney eventually deserted Angele and his daughter to travel the Ontario woods. By 1914, he was speaking Ojibwe and feigning ignorance of English, and spreading rumors of his father the army scout, and his Apache mother; all of which had been concocted in Archie's imagination.[49]

In 1915, after fleeing from Bisco, Ontario, where he had been the cause of some local troubles, Archie enlisted in the Canadian Army. In the First World War, Belaney served with the 13th Montreal Battalion, and was wounded twice in the trenches. He was shot in the wrist and in the right foot, and this latter wound would cause him a great deal of pain and discomfort in future years.[50] While convalescing in England Belaney met with family and friends

from Hastings, and he eventually married Connie Holmes, a friend who was studying drama in London.[51] The marriage was a total failure, and Archie returned to Canada in September of 1917. The "Great War" left Belaney somewhat psychologically marred, and prompted him to totally sever his relations with England, his family, and to a certain extent, non-Indian people. Archie Belaney became Grey Owl, Indian orator and conservationist.

Archie Belaney assumed the name Grey Owl, which was a translation of Wa-Sha-Quon-Asie (he-Who-Flies-By-Night), and he often signed the Ojibwe spelling of his name with the words "Grey Owl" underneath. It is uncertain when he assumed the Ojibwe name but makes reference to the acquisition of it in The Men of the Last Frontier which was published in 1932. Grey Owl claimed that he was named by an ancient conjuror, when, "Many years ago I cast my lot in with the nation known under the various appellations of Chippeways, Algonquins, Londucks, and Ojibways."[52] From 1917 to 1925 was a trying time for Grey Owl, for he watched the land in Ontario undergo enormous changes. He worked as a trapper, guide, forester, and general handyman during this period of time and lamented the changes that he witnessed in the north country.

> What had been a Garden of Eden when he first came to Bisco in 1912 looked, only six years later, as though a drunken party had takenplace. He saw that this was entirely due to the entrance of the white man and his technology into the domain of the Indians who had taken from the land only what they had need to sustain life. With the Commission out of action

> for several years, forestry was conducted wherever access to the railway was possible, with the result that the debris from the sawmills and log booms polluted the rivers.[53]

Not only were the trees being cut at an astronomical rate, but forest fires were wreaking havoc because of the large quantity of dry brush that was left over from the lumbering operation, and beaver were being trapped out in certain areas of the bush to obtain the high fur prices that prompted overharvesting of the species in the 1920's. Grey Owl resented the industrial encroachment and despoilation of the land that he had come to identify with as "Indian."

In 1925 Grey Owl met a young woman named Gertrude Bernard who was employed at a Lodge on Lake Temagami, and Grey Owl, who was working as a guide on the lake and visiting his first wife Angele, fell in love with the nineteen year old Iroquois (Mohawk) girl. Grey Owl was in the midst of his final transformation from Englishman to Indian. He told the young woman that he was "half-Indian and had always lived in the woods," and that he had served in the First World War.[54] Lovat Dickson in Wilderness Man: The Strange Story of Grey Owl, contends that it is at this period of time that Grey Owl, "put out of his mind altogether that distant childhood in Hastings. He wrote home no more. He had almost come to believe himself in the story of his mother and father living in Mexico, and of his birth in an Indian encampment."[55] Gertrude, also known as Anahareo,

would be the vehicle and companion that Grey Owl would use to completely break with his past life. She, on the other hand, was unaware of Archie Belaney, and only knew the man calling himself "Grey Owl." Anahareo and Grey Owl were married in the early part of 1926 by Chief Papati of the Lac Simon Band of Ojibwe, a group of people that Grey Owl had assisted in the past. Grey Owl had helped to obtain the release of two members of the band from the local authorities.

> Two of their number had been arrested and were in jail at Amos under the charge of setting fire to a trapper's shack, flattening the stove pipes, dumping the trapper's winter provisions in the snow, and pouring coal oil over a bag of traps, a heinous offence in itself since it is difficult to eradicate the smell which frightens off game approaching the trap. The Indians' defense was that the trapper was using strychnine as bait for Wolves and foxes, and that this had poisoned their huskies. It was the old war between the Indians and the invading trappers.[56]

The two Indian men received light sentences for their actions and the oratorical skill of Grey Owl ingratiated him to the Lac Simon Band.

Grey Owl became keenly interested in conservation while he and Anahareo lived together in the bush. This was an interest that had been developing for years as he had watched the "progress" of western civilization in northern Canada, but primarily it was the result of his comparison between the use of natural resources by Native Americans and non-Indian populations. Grey Owl, along with Anahareo, reached a decision in 1927-28 that would have far reaching

effects for the couple. They decided that they would no longer trap animals for a living, and this decision was brought on by the fact that they found two young beaver kittens near a site where Grey Owl had lost one of his traps: The mother of the kittens had drowned in Grey Owl's trap, and sunk.[57] Anahareo and Grey Owl picked up the kittens and took them home with them. This event was the beginning of Grey Owl's campaign to save the beaver from extinction in Canada, and the start of his career as outdoor writer and naturalist.

In the latter part of 1928 and the early months of 1929, Grey Owl began to write about his experiences in the northern woods. Country Life, an English magazine, published "The Falls of Silence," in the March 1, 1929 edition.[58] This article was a description of a trappers life, and relied heavily on the aesthetics of the northern woods for thematic content. Grey Owl went to extreme lengths to hide his identity from the editor of Country Life and gradually convinced the magazine that he had been "adopted" by the Ojibwe some years earlier. The two beaver kittens that Grey Owl and Anahareo had taken home with them became the focal point of their life together.

They named the two young beavers McGinnis and McGinty, and they became very attached to the animals. As Grey Owl worked at perfecting his writing skill he also began to plan a program for the restoration of beaver in Canada.

> He had formed no deatiled plan for his beaver colony at this stage. But his references to it in letters show that his imagination had leaped ahead, to see not only the beaver put under a closed season until their numbers were restored, but the timber operation held in check, and the Indians restored to their villages. With his showman's instinct he knew that the proposer of such a project would be listened to more keenly if he bore the badge of suffering himself. Indians and beaver, they shared the same plight. The civilization of machines was overwhelming them. He, an Indian, would be their spokesman.[59]

Within the next eight years Grey Owl, alias Archie Belaney, would influence millions of people in Europe and North America. He would become the stalwart conservationist, who preached Native American philosophy and reiterated the need for a "sacred" tie with the environment.

Grey Owl eventually convinced the editors of Country Life that he really was an Indian and used the name A. Belaney to cover up his true identity.[60] He continued to write for Country Life, and began work on his first novel. In 1930, Grey Owl also started to publish his articles in Canada's leading outdoor magazine, Forest and Outdoors. Over the next five years, Grey Owl penned twenty-five articles for that magazine, and many of these pieces used his Native American identity to establish credibility.[61] In the fall of 1930, Grey Owl and the beavers became the subject of a film made by the Canadian National Parks. This was the first of a series of films that "starred" Grey Owl, Anahareo, and their latest beaver, Jelly Roll. Grey Owl was beginning to attract a great deal of attention, and he was more than ready to

capitalize on it to promote his environmental ideals. His novel, The Men of the Last Frontier, which he had submitted to Country Life was published by that magazine in 1931, and his career as a Native American spokesman began in earnest.

Between the years 1931 and 1935, Grey Owl wrote three other novels, which were a combination of his experiences and invention. Pilgrims of the Wild, the story of Anahareo and Grey Owl, was issued in 1935 and included the beavers that became the trademark of Grey Owl.[62] The Adventures of Sajo and the Beaver People, a collection of children's stories, was also published in 1935, and in 1936, Grey Owl completed Tales of an Empty Cabin, which was a series of collected memoirs of his life in the bush.[63] These novels, or collections of stories and essays, were published in London, England, as well as in New York and Toronto. Unfortunately, Grey Owl's penchant for work destroyed his relationship with Anahareo during this period of time. Grey Owl was almost twenty years the senior of Anahareo, and her desire to travel came in serious conflict with his writing. It was easier to go their separate ways and pursue their individual interests.

By 1935, Grey Owl had lectured numerous times on Indians, beaver and conservation, and in that year, Lovat Dickson, Grey Owl's eventual biographer, invited him to England to present a series of lectures abroad. The lectures began in England in October of 1935, and were an

immediate success. Grey Owl, in his buckskins, was an imposing figure as he strode out on stage and greeted his audiences with "How Kola" (hello friend),[64] and began to speak as a Native American who knew and loved the land. "You are tired with years of civilization. I come to offer you - what? A single green leaf."[65] The crowds for his lectures grew in numbers and his fame spread across England.

> "When I stood on those platforms," he recollected afterwards, "I did not need to think. I merely spoke of the life and the animals I had known all my days. I was only the mouth, but Nature was speaking."[66]

Grey Owl's impact on English populations was enormous. In only four months, he lectured to almost a quarter of a million people at over two hundred public appearances.[67]

The 1935-1936 tour was such an enormous success that Grey Owl was booked for return engagements the following year. The highlight of the 1937 lecture series was a Command Performance before King George V, Queen Mary and the grandchildren of the royal couple, Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret Rose.[68]

> He gave 140 lectures between October and December 19, and during that time he never missed an engagement, or was late for one, except when he was involved in a motor accident between Oxford and Southport. A crowd of over a thousand had waited for him an hour and a quarter when he climbed on the platform at the Cambridge Hall, to receive one of the greatest ovations of his career.[69]

After the conclusion of the second English tour, Grey Owl lectured in the United States. The hectic pace was taking a toll on his physical condition, and he gave his last

public lecture at Massey Hall in Toronto on March 26, 1938.[70] Grey Owl returned to his cabin on Lake Ajawaan, which was located in Prince Albert National Park, and became ill. He died on April 13, 1938; the cause of death was exhaustion.

No matter what name he was known by, Archie Belaney or Grey Owl had a tremendous impact on people by disseminating an outdoor ethic that was derived from contact with Native Americans. Archie Belaney truly usurped the "ethic" from Native Americans, but redeemed himself by becoming Grey Owl, orator, prophet, and to some, charlatan. T.D.A. Cockerell, from the University of Colorado at Boulder, visited Grey Owl in 1935, and published his impressions of the trip in the March, 1936 issue of Natural History.[71] Cockerell, like so many others, including Lovat Dickson, accepted Grey Owl for what he said he was: an Indian. Referring to the movies.that Grey Owl had appeared in Cockerell states that they were "shown to many thousands of people, in Colorado, California, and Wyoming," and were very popular.[72] Moreover, Cockerell perceived Grey Owl and Anahareo as "what we should call conservationists, and unwittingly allied to that large company of people, all over the world, who are striving, with remarkable success, to save the native animals and plants."[73] Grey Owl had a profound impact on the North American and European view of nature.

Grey Owl's "mission" is best described by his companion on his English lectures and publisher, Lovat Dickson. Referring to Grey Owl he said:

> He had a set of simple ideas, that the beaver should be protected in every province in Canada, that all wildlife deserved some degree of protection from wholesale slaughter, and that the Indians were the people best fitted by nature and tradition to be the custodians of the wilderness, and should be trained to act as caretakers of the nation's wild heritage.[74]

Grey Owl, like others before him, had been taught to survive in the bush by Native peoples. He may have had some quirks that seem odd, but he never attempted to hide the debt that he owed to Indian people. In a letter to Chief To-To-Sis in 1936, Grey Owl wrote, "the Indians taught me the things that are now making me famous."[75]

Like Grey Owl, there are numerous people who have been influenced by Native Americans, and who in turn have disseminated information about indigenous populations. One of the most prominent men to do so in the United States in the last fifty years is Buck Burshears, born James Francis Brushears in 1909. He became a Boy Scout in 1921 and in 1925, the first Eagle Scout in his home town of La Junta, Colorado.

> I joined Boy Scouts in 1921, fell in love with camping and spent the next eight years at Scout camps and the subsequent five years at private camps. I graduated from being a boy to being an adult and counselor in the camps.[76]

After college, Burshears returned to La Junta where in 1933 he founded Boy Scout Explorer Troop 2230. The troop began

to study Indian lore, which had been one of Burshear's pastimes for many years, and eventually learned many authentic Native American dances. The troop became known as the "Koshares;" which is a Pueblo word for the ceremonial clowns that dance and perform important religious functions in the American southwest. The name was obviously meant to create a tie between the Boy Scout dancers, and their Pueblo counterparts. The troop, under the direction of Burshears, has always placed a great deal of emphasis on authenticity. The young explorers are required to make their own dance regalia, and adhere to strict codes of personal conduct. The pursuit of authenticity and the development of "good character" has strong historical roots.

A number of people prompted Burshears to form troop 2230.

> While attending Colorado College, I was influenced by Lester Griswold who wrote handicraft books. At that time he had boys following a program started earlier in Colorado Springs by Ralph Hubbard, son of Elbert Hubbard.[77]

Among others that influenced him was Ernest Thompson Seton, who Burshears frequently visited in Santa Fe, and Seton was often a guest in the Burshears home when he traveled to Colorado.

> Some of us think Ernest Thompson Seton really laid out the Scouting program in his Birch Bark Roll of 1902. It was used by Baden-Powell and his soldiers in Kenya. Then he took it to England and revised it into Scouting. When Scouting was started in the United States several youth groups, like Seton's Woodcraft Rangers, were the nucleus of

> Scouting. The first Scouting manual was written by Seton and Baden-Powell. But conflicting personalities in the National Scout office caused Seton's name to be lost in the story of Scouting until after his death. Now they are realizing the great influence he had on the program and have established the Seton Museum at Philmont Scout Ranch.[78]

Burshears had also met George Bird Grinnell at Glacier Park, and had read Grinnell's literary works. There is little doubt, that much of the foundation of Scouting was based upon Native American knowledge and woodcraft skills. Burshears exemplifies the continuity that has been maintained between Native Americans and the Boy Scouts.

Buck Burshears has been adopted into the Ojibwe and the Blackfoot Tribes, and has frequent contact with Native peoples to insure proper conduct and actions of the dancers.

> Among the Pueblo Indians the Koshares have many friends who often visit us. Many Koshares have Indian blood in their background but we have to teach them to be Indians. Some of my boys have been drawn into being teachers and even taking part in Indian ceremonies. One did the Sun Dance with the Utes nine times.[79]

The experience of being a "Koshare," and scouting in general, have served to perpetuate Native American beliefs, and to disseminate them to non-Indian populations. It is interesting to note the Native American imagery that is closely aligned with Boy Scout programs. The Order of the Arrow was founded in the summer of 1915 at Treasure Island, a Scout camp near Philadelphia, by Dr. Urner Goodman. The order is given to scouts who "best exemplified the spirit

of the Scout Oath and Law in their daily lives."[80] The Order of the Arrow may present an image of Native American-Boy Scout ties today, but in 1915 it symbolized and acknowledged the prominent role that Native peoples have had upon the development of scouting.

> Since the valley of the Delaware was rich in Indian tradition and the site of the Scout camp was an island used in bygone days as a camping ground of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware tribes, it seemed only natural to base this campers honor society on the legend and traditions of these Indians. In the beginning, the organization was known as the Wimachtendienk W.W., but later as the Order of the Arrow.[81]

The Order of the Arrow serves to reward and promote the activity of camping within the Boy Scouts of America. Ironically, the highest award in Boy Scouting today is the "Silver Buffalo." It is ironic in that there is no group of people that are more closely associated with the buffalo than the American Indian, yet the award designates the highest achievements in organized scouting. Perchance Ernest Thompson Seton did succeed: Maybe he did "make an Indian of the American boy."

The Boy Scouts of America place a great deal of emphasis on outdoor activities that promote cooperation, develop personal skills, and build character and self-reliance. Another priority of scouting is to build and reinforce an outdoor ethic in young men. This is achieved through the camping experience, interaction with nature, and the social unit of the group. The heritage of scouting is partly a Native American heritage. Scouts have learned

from and continue to acquire Native American skills and philosophical insights. Scouting organizations have been students of American Indian life, and disseminators of the knowledge they have obtained.

The dissemination of Native American philosophy and skills has not been restricted to North America. Even before the popular lecture tours of Grey Owl, there was a strong interest in Native Americans on the European continent. Von Heinz Reichling, in Ernest Thompson Seton Und Die Bewegung in England, provides interesting insight into the dissemination of Native American philosophy and skills to Europe.[82] Reichling contends that youth movements in England had a very different character from similar movements in Germany in that the rise of youth organizations in England did not represent a youth led revolution against adult principles and practices.[83] He also states that, "A youth revolt in England was effectively countered by the introduction of the Boy Scout movement," and he attributes the major influences to the growth of scouting to Ernest Thompson Seton and his Woodcraft Indians.[84]

> Seton's woodcraft ideas are based upon his accurate knowledge of American Indian ways, mannerisms, ceremonies and lifestyle.[85]

The impact of Seton's ideas and writings was enormous in Europe.

> The Birch Bark Roll was accepted by many organizations in Europe, (e.g., Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia, France and Belguim) as the primary handbook for their woodcraft activities. In England, Seton not only influenced the Boy Scouts but also, in

> greater measure, the "Kibbo Kift," the "Woodcraft Folk," and especially the "Order of Woodcraft Chivalry," of which Seton is the "Grand Chieftan."[86]

Reichling postulates that the reason for Seton's success and influence in the dissemination of the camping and scouting organizations was that he presented ideas and activities that could "grapple" with the problems of civilization and "turn theory into practical method."[87]

When Seton first began his lifelong association with outdoor organizations and woodcraft, educational systems were being attacked for undermining the "masculine" character of youth. Young men had a great deal of "idle" time that was viewed as a negative aspect of their physical growth and development. The culprit, in the eyes of the proponents of scouting, was the city and industrial society.[88] These developments were destroying initiative and the "will" to work and achieve for young boys, and this was closely correlated to the "type" of young men that society was nurturing to meet future challenges. In 1929, Robert Baden-Powell lamented the shortcomings of contemporary educational systems: "Only in the educational systems of todays civilized lands is it possible to find virtually no training in character development."[89] Seton's outline for scouting stressed physical and character development for young boys as a necessity to counteract the negative influences of modern civilization. This program was popularly received because it was introduced at a critical period of debate over the "preparedness" of young men in

not only the United States, but Canada and several European countries.

Seton had a tremendous following in Europe, as illustrated by the formation of The Order of Woodcraft Chivalry in 1915. This group was formed shortly after Seton was forced out of the Boy Scout movement, and was undoubtedly a response to Seton's "expulsion" from scouting. The founders of the Order were dissatisfied with the military character of scouting, and Ernest Westlake, one of the founders of the organization, used Seton's Birch Bark Rools and Book of Woodcraft as guidelines for the new group. The Order of Woodcraft Chivalry became strongly attached to the idea that every person that is born in a civilized country, must first learn the skills that the "earliest cultures had discovered," and develop personal character from this experience. The Order of Woodcraft Chivalry had a stronger philosophical basis for their activities than did the Boy Scouts, and for this reason and the fact that they were a more complex organization, they never enjoyed the popularity that scouting did.[90]

Reichling's insights into the dissemination of Native American attitudes and values, via scouting and outdoor organizations in Europe, describe the significant contributions that Ernest Thompson Seton made to the formation of these groups. Reichling's text was written in 1937, one year after Grey Owl made his first lecture tour to England, and the book was probably in preparation while Grey Owl

entertained the standing room only crowds who turned out to greet him. Seton's influence in Europe had been pervasive since the early twentieth century, and he was largely responsible for the philosophical orientation of The Order fo Woodcraft Chivalry. Grey Owl, was simply playing to groups, which ahd been inundated with outdoor organizations for close to three decades. Regardless of what was historically prepared for whom, Native American's played a significant role in the dissemination of the developing outdoor ethic in numerous European countries.

The influence and dissemination of Native American philosophy and contributions to the formation of the conservation ethic has continued since the 1930's. Numerous articles have been published in diverse sources that more than allude to these contributions, and to people like Ernest Thompson Seton. In 1976, William H. Carr, published "Inspired by Indians," in the Conservationist, which is the magazine of the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation.[91] Mr. Carr typifies the influences that Native Americans have had on recent environmental perceptions.

> At the age of twelve or so, I was a ersatz Indian. I've never quite recovered from the experience. James Fenimore Cooper with his Leatherstocking Tales, especially "The Last of the Mohicans," had his way with me, as did Ernest Thompson Seton with his books, "Two Little Savages" and "Rolf in the Woods," and there was Daniel Carter Beard who urged his Boy Scouts to adopt some phases of what he called "the Indian way" of woodsmanship. I was not so much interested in the costumes, dances and rituals, as in the practical part of living

> outdoors. Dan Beard had said, "You'll never know as much about the woods as the Indians knew, but you can learn a lot if you put your mind to it."[92]

William Carr proceeds to recount how he actively pursued an "Indian" interest in the woods, and eventually became a skilled woodsman and tracker. He vividly ties the development of his conservation interests to Native Americans.

> From what I had read in books, especially by Mr. Seton, I had learned that Indians had a high regard for wildlife and only killed animals they needed for food or other purposes, and that they also had regard for certain creatures in a religious sort of way. I suppose that originally my ideas about the conservation of wildlife came from this knowledge. I felt, no doubt, that as an Indian, I would protect creatures from indiscriminate killing because, "being like an Indian", I had a desire to think and behave as they did. I never had heard the word conservation. Indians were largely responsible for my love, interest in and knowledge about wildlife and the related wish to protect it. Probably many young people who became concerned with saving creatures from useless slaughter were inspired, as I was, by Indian lore rather than by any Wilderness Society which did not then exist.[93]

"Inspired by Indians," speaks to the experience of many young people who were influenced by scouting experiences, and the writings of prominent naturalist and outdoor writers. They in turn became the disseminators of the "ethic" as it was conveyed by Native peoples.

> Due to circumstances, it was not long after those summer days that I outgrew my interest in actively living like an Indian. However, I still enjoy going into the woods, and if I am alone wonder whether there is some spirit of an Indian near me, seeing what I see, hearing what I hear, and keeping out of sight. After all, they were there first.[94]

The Native American contribution to the formation of the conservation ethic will never be entirely usurped thanks to men like William Carr.

Examples of the dissemination and influence of Native American attitudes of nature and conservation can be readily found in American society today. They exist in the form of organized programs, literature, and experiental activities. The Y.M.C.A. has a program entitled, the "Y Indian Guides," which relies on Native American lore to promote family unity and cooperation. Again, it is interesting to note that these programs disseminate Native American information to primarily non-Indian populations. Be that as it may, there are a number of experiental activities that actively solicit participants for Native American experiences. One of the best examples of this is "Polestar Passages," which operates on Lake Temagami (Grey Owl's old stomping grounds) in Ontario, Canada. Polestar Passages leaves little to the imagination in terms of what they disseminate, and where that information came from.

> For the past few years, Polestar has offered a series of programs for people of different ages from various walks in life from America and abroad. Traditional Native American rites have helped these people to catch glimpses of new horizons with new energy. They have begun to feel themselves part of something larger than themselves through the Sweat Lodge, Sacred Pipe Ceremonies and through the Vision Quest.[95]

The entire program at Polestar is a "Native American wilderness experience for those seeking an individual pathway to inner guidance." The Polestar community employs both Native American and non-Indian staff members who train participants in one of three camps which emphasize Native American ritual, survival, or inner tranquility and

personal growth. The experiences that are provided to Polestar clientele are expensive, and many of the participants come to the camp from Europe. For this reason, some Native peoples have criticized Polestar as being crass, and "commercial," yet the camp has been successful in attracting interested participants. The Polestar experience places a great deal of attention on creating a personal relationship with the environment.

> We need to make certain, however, that along with this method we do not embrace an attitude of conquest of a particular mountain, river or place, but rather, emphasize our need to learn from the earth in a spirit of harmony and balance.[96]

Polestar Passages has made it their "business" to disseminate Native American philosophy and environmental perceptions. The impact of this movement will most certainly be analogous to other historical vehicles that perpetuated the Native American land ethic: It will continue.

The continuity that does exist in the dissemination of Native American philosophy is very startling. Even the casual browser in a book store can find examples of Native American influence upon the formation of American conservation, or the contributions of Native peoples to the development of outdoor activities and skills. Man and Nature: America before the Days of the White Man by Carl Sauer, for instance, can be readily located in most book stores.[97] This text is a reader for young people (old as well) and places a great deal of emphasis on man's relationship to the environment. This relationship

is discussed in reference to a Native American perception of the land, and the book seeks to teach young people respect for the Creation. The exploitation of natural resources is harshly condemed, and the alternative of Native American land use practices and religious ties to the environment is suggested. Given the reality of the exploitation that occurred in the last century and the present interest in alternative "life-styles," the text presents a common sense philosophical orientation for the future.

Native American skills, that were integral parts of their daily life, also provide examples of the dissemination of Native philosophy and the view of nature. The story of Tom Brown, Jr., as told to William Jon Watkins in The Tracker is a good illustration of the dissemination of skills and the view of nature that were originally derived from Native Americans.[98] Tom Brown is recognized as one of the finest professional trackers in the United States. He runs and teaches at his own wilderness survival schools which are located in Washington State and in New Jersey. Tom Brown was taught to track and survive in the "wilderness" by an old Apache who happened to be the grandfather of one of his young friends. Stalking Wolf was the old man's name, and he tutored Tom and his grandson Rick in a way of interacting with nature that focused on distrubances of natural occurrences and silence. Things that were out of place, grass, twigs, rocks, hair, or any

other tangible, told a story. So did the absence of sound as when chickadees or blue jays should have been present but weren't. By learning the signs of normal patterns in the environment, Brown became an expert tracker. He could always tell when something was missing or disturbed.

Brown makes it a point to acknowledge the teaching of Stalking Wolf in The Tracker.

> Old Stalking Wolf guided us. This book is the story of how we did it and how I have applied what Stalking Wolf taught me.[99]

Like many good teachers, Stalking Wolf taught by example and experience.

> Stalking Wolf was very old, and he drifted into reveries that made him seem as if he might be senile when I first met him. But I realized later, when I had seen with amazement how keen his senses were, that he had simply gone inside of himself for a moment to check his perceptions against the pattern of the world. Only after he had taught me how to be silent did I realize that he was stopping his own motion so he could tell the disturbances around him from his own.[100]

Brown further describes how Stalking Wolf led him and Rick from "childhood to manhood," and how to live in the woods with the "least disruption of the earth." It was Stalking Wolf who taught Brown how much he was missing because he did not focus attention on what was going on around him. Frequently the old man told his apprentices to "go feed the birds," so that they would sit, listen and observe what was taking place that had meaning if you could understand it. Brown learned his lessons well while working with the old man for nine years. He also found a new view and understanding of the world around him.

> We learned a world view in which Nature is a being larger than the sum of all creatures, and can be seen best in the flow of its interactions. In the movement of each animal, all animals move. I am not sure if these were Stalking Wolf's own ideas, or the ideas of his tribe, but Rick and I took them as articles of faith to live by, and we devoted our lives to living in the woods as much as we could and learning everything that was there.[101]

Tom Brown acknowledges his tie with Native peoples and indigenous philosophy on his camp brochures. Tom credits Stalking Wolf as an influence and teacher, and lists Native American skills which will be taught at the course sessions. Indian life and lore is one area that is highlighted by the camp and the brochure states that "the art of survival is very much a part of the Indian lifestyle." More important than the skills that are conveyed at the school, is the dissemination of philosophy that is Native American in origin.

> The student will be shown how to observe not only more deeply than ever before, but also with philosophical overtones. TOM BROWN CONSIDERS THIS TO BE THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF THE SCHOOL, AND IS THE BASIS OF ALL HIS BELIEFS.[102]

The Tracker was taught and influenced by Native Americans and has now become a prominent advocate of indigenous philosophy and the land ethic.

In the case of Tom Brown, the dissemination of Native American influences and world view has paid high dividends. On many occasions he has been called in to help locate a lost or missing person, and he has successfully saved a number of lives that may have otherwise ended tragically. This is an important point: The dissemination of Native

American philosophy and skills has been a positive addition to not only Tom Brown, but to American society in general. Native American perceptions of the land influenced both the establishment of the outdoor ethic and the conservationist movement. These contributions have been ignored or negated as "myth" but the reality of these diverse influences can not be easily dismissed.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

[1]George Bird Grinnell. Jack Among the Indians. Chicago: M.A. Donohue and Company, 1900.

[2]Ralph and Natasha Friar. The Only Good Indian: The Hollywood Gospel. New York: Drama Book Specialists/ Publishers, 1972, p. 46.

[3]David Kay. "The Boy Scouts of America in the World War II Era," unpublished paper, The University of Chicago, 1981, p. 17.

[4]Scout Memorbilia. Vol. 8, No. 5, 1973, p. 37.

[5]Ernest Thompson Seton. How to Play Indian. New York: Curtis Publishing Company, 1903.

[6]Ernest Thompson Seton. Lives of Game Animals. New York: Doubleday, 1925-1928.

[7]Hamlin Garland. A Daughter of the Middle Border. New York: The Macmillian Co., 1922, and Main-Travelled Roads, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899.

[8]George Custer. "Indian Smoke Signals," in Forest and Stream, Vol. 1, No. 16, November 27, 1873, p. 247.

[9]Editorial, "The Indians at St. Augustine, Florida," in Forest and Stream, Vol. 5, No. 23, January 13, 1876, p. 361.

[10]Editorial, "Indian Arms," in Forest and Stream, Vol. 6, No. 24, July 20, 1876, p. 391.

[11]Personal conversation with Margaret Nichols, Manager, Editorial Services, Field and Stream, August 16, 1982.

[12]Editorial, "Hail and Farewell," in Forest and Stream, July, 1930, p. 512-513.

[13]Alvah Dorsey James. "Lights and Shades at the Sportsmen's Show," in Field and Stream, April, 1901, p. 77.

[14]J.W. Meiers. "With Rod and Paddle on the Headwaters of the Ottawa," in Field and Stream, May, 1901, p. 153.

[15]Stanley Snow. "A Day in the Desert," in Field and Stream, July, 1904, p. 221, and Sumner W. Matteson, "The Snake Dancers," in Field and Stream, August, 1904, p. 330.

[16]Marstyn Pogue. "Moccassin Tracks," in Field and Stream, August 1900, p. 417.

[17]Marstyn Pogue. "The Phantom Canoe of Beaubocage Lake," in Field and Stream, September, 1900, p. 447, and "Memory Pictures of Summer," Field and Stream, October, 1900, p. 535.

[18]Editorial, "In the Council Lodge," in Field and Stream, June, 1900, p. 302.

[19]Ibid, and "In the Council Lodge," in Field and Stream, August, 1900, p. 428.

[20]Editorial, "In the Council Lodge," in Field and Stream, June, 1901, p. 428.

[21]Editorial, "In the Council Lodge,"; in Field and Stream, November, 1901, p. 557.

[22]Editorial, "In the Council Lodge," in Field and Stream, July, 1900, p. 363, and "In the Council Lodge," in Field and Stream, October, 1900, p. 537, and "In the Council Lodge," in Field and Stream, September, 1900, p. 482.

[23]Editorial, "In the Council Lodge," in Field and Stream, June, 1902, p. 170.

[24]Editorial, "In the Council Lodge," in Field and Stream, November, 1903, p. 567.

[25]Editorial, "In the Council Lodge," in Field and Stream, April, 1905, p. 566.

[26]Theodora Kroeber. Ishi in Two Worlds: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961, p. 8.

[27]Ibid. p. 153.

[28]Ibid. p. 179.

[29]Ibid. p. 205.

[30]Ibid. p. 206.

[31]Ibid. p. 206.

[32]Ibid. p. 207.

[33]Ibid. p. 208.

[34]Ibid. p. 211.

[35]Ibid. p. 210.

[36]Saxton Pope. Hunting with the Bow and Arrow. New York: Popular Library, 1974, p. 32. This text is a reprint of the 1923 edition, and has an Introduction by Fred Bear.

[37]Ibid. Picture in the middle of text, between pps. 112-113.

[38]Ibid. p. 10.

[39]Ibid. p. 107.

[40]Ibid. The back cover of the text lists the rules of fair chase that members in the Fred Bear Sports Club will abide by.

[41]Lovat Dickson. Wilderness Man: The Strange Story of Grey Owl. New York: Atheneum, 1973, p. 28.

[42]Ibid. p. 38.

[43]Ibid. p. 51.

[44]Ibid. p. 52-53.

[45]Ibid. p. 46.

[46]Ibid. p. 54.

[47]Frank Speck. Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley, No. 70. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915, lineal charts between pps. 18-19.

[48]Op. Cit., Dickson, p. 56.

[49]Ibid. p. 95.

[50]Ibid. p. 101-102.

[51]Ibid. p. 102.

[52]Anahareo (Gertrude Bernard). Grey Owl and I. London: Peter Davies Ltd., 1972, p. 189.

[53]Op. Cit., Dickson, p. 113.

[54]Ibid. p. 125.

[55]Ibid. p. 125.

[56]Ibid. p. 138.

[57]Ibid. p. 150-151.

[58]Ibid. p. 155.

[59]Ibid. p. 169.

[60]Ibid. p. 181.

[61]Ibid. p. 203.

[62]Grey Owl (Archie Belaney). Pilgrims of the Wild. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.

[63]Grey Owl (Archie Belaney). The Adventures of Sajo and the Beaver People. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935, and Tales of An Empty Cabin, New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1936.

[64]"How Kola," is hello friend in Lakota. This is interesting since Archie (Grey Owl) spoke Ojibwe, and he elected to greet his audiences in Lakota (Sioux). It may be that he thought the Lakota greeting was more poetic sounding than the Ojibwe "Boozhoo Neej," or "Anee Neej."

[65]Op. Cit., Dickson, p. 233.

[66]Ibid. p. 237.

[67]Ibid. p. 238.

[68]Ibid. p. 243.

[69]Ibid. p. 251.

[70]Ibid. p. 252.

[71]T.D.A. Cockerell. "A Visit With Grey Owl," in Natural History, March, 1936.

[72]Ibid. p. 223.

[73]Ibid. p. 224.

[74]Op. Cit., Dickson, p. 252.

[75]Ibid. p. 269.

[76]Personal communication with James Francis (Buck) Burshears, Scout Master, Explorer Post 2230, La Junta, Colorado: February 23, 1982.

[77]Ibid. p. 1.

[78]Ibid. p. 1.

[79]Ibid. p. 2.

[80]National Office, Boy Scouts of America. Order of the Arrow Handbook. Irving, Texas: 1972, p. 2.

[81]Ibid. p. 2.

[82]Von Heinz Reichling. Ernest Thompson Seton Und Die Woodcraft Bewegung in England. Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1937.

[83]Ibid. p. 7-8.

[84]Ibid. p. 5.

[85]Ibid. p. 16.

[86]Ibid. p. 17.

[87]Ibid. p. 20.

[88]Op. Cit., Kay, p. 3-4.

[89]Op. Cit., Reichling, p. 18.

[90]Ibid. p. 66.

[91]William H. Carr. "Inspired by Indians," in Conservationist, Vol. 30, #4, January-February, 1976.

[92]Ibid. p. 38.

[93]Ibid. p. 39.

[94]Ibid. p. 39.

[95]Polestar Passages Brochure. Polestar Passages. Contact person, David Knudsen, West Grove, Pennsylvania, 1981, p. 3.

[96]Ibid. p. 2.

[97]Carl Sauer. Man and Nature: America Before the Days of the White Man. Berkeley: Turtle Island Foundation, 1975.

[98]Tom Brown Jr., and William Jon Watkins. The Tracker: The True Story of Tom Brown, Jr. New York: Berkeley Books, 1979.

[99]Ibid. p. 23.

[100]Ibid. p. 16.

[101]Ibid. p. 19.

[102]The Tracker Brochure. Tom Brown, Tracker, Inc. Asbury, New Jersey, 1980, p. 1.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The dissemination of Native American philosophy/spirituality played a prominent role in the formation of the modern conservation ethic. This simply cannot be rejected as "popular myth." Native American lore and environmental relations influenced outdoor writers, novelists, and organizations that promoted outdoor experiences. Ernest Thompson Seton, Hamlin Garland, George Bird Grinnell, Charles Alexander Eastman, Dr. Saxton Pope, Grey Owl, and others promulgated an environmental message that was based upon Native American resource use patterns. Organizations such as the Boy Scouts, Y.M.C.A., "Tracker," and Polestar Passages have also used and conveyed the environmental messages of Native peoples. These individuals and organizations provide a crucial link in the perpetuation of the Native American ideals and environmental ethics.

The facets of the dissemination process that demonstrate Native American influences upon people and organizations are clearly illustrated in Theodore L. Kazimiroff's, The Last Algonquin.[1] This book is the story of Ted Kazimiroff Sr., who as a young boy in 1924 met the remaining member of the Weckquasgek (Wickerscreek) Tribe,

Joe Two Trees, on Hunter Island (Hunter Island, at that period of time, was located off the coast of the Bronx, New York City, but was eventually connected to the mainland by a series of dumping sties and landfills). The story is recounted by Theodore Kazimiroff Jr., as it was told to him by his father. The text is a classic example of the influence of Native peoples upon the formation of the conservation ethic, and is reminiscent of Ishi in Two Worlds, and The Tracker.

As a young man, Ted Kazimiroff wandered the shores of Hunter Island, and spent a great deal of time exploring, tracking animals, and collecting the "valuables" that young boys cherish.

> The area fascinated me because it contained almost all of the flora and fauna that I had read in my Boy Scout manual.[2]

His explorations led to the discovery of Joe Two Trees and his wigwam which was cleverly concealed from the causal observer.

> Then one day I discovered a rabbit run in the underbrush. It was heavily tamped down indicating the passage of many little feet. I decided to follow it and see if I could stalk up to the cottontail and touch him. I had touched a deer that way once at the Boy Scout Camp upstate.[3]

Following the rabbit path, Ted Kazimiroff, Sr., found himself in a clearing confronting Joe Two Trees and Joe began the conversation;

> "I know you very much. You watch all the living things, but you do not harm them. Why?" I tried to explain to him my interest in natural history and scouting merit badges, but I think he didn't

> understand all of it. At some point in our conversation, he decided that scouting was like "being Indian." When that concept had formed in his mind he seemed more at ease with me.[4]

Young Ted and Joe became good friends, and Joe began the training of his youthful confidant. As Ted spent more time with Two Trees, he began to perceive the common sense that was reflected in Two Tree's actions and endeavors. Joe Two Trees organically fertilized his garden with fish entrails and heads, and used the preying mantis for predator control. He collected lady bugs on his walks around the island and let these creatures loose in his garden to eat the aphids on his tomato plants. These behaviors prompted Kazimiroff to reflect on man-nature relations.

> Here was a man who had created an ecological balance in his surroundings long before ecology became a fashionable word. The maximum use of all things, within a framework of no waste, was something Joe did as his ancestors had for thousands of years. He lived this way, apparently for no other reason than that it made good sense.[5]

The apprenticeship of the young man continued, and he learned many skills and insights from Two Trees.

While Ted was visiting Two Trees' camp, he observed the preparation of food in a cooking pot that was made out of natural materials, and he asked Joe if he could make a pot for himself. Two Trees' response acknowledged the spiritual realities that are inherent in Native American environmental relations.

> He told me that this making must begin first in the heart, or soul, for that was the place the maker started all good ideas. Once the young thought had ripened, like the fruit on a branch, it would

> follow a natural course to the head. The brain, he said, was the second stopping place for the plan. It was in the brain that Tchi- Manitou would come during sleep time to help the plan become a workable project. In short, once the idea had been prayed over, thought about, and then slept on, it was time to bring it into the world, as a reality. I was told to go home and pray that my pot would be well made, and that once made, it would be full whenever I, or my family, was hungry.[6]

The relationship between Two Trees and Ted Kazimiroff Sr., focused on man's obligation to use the natural resources of the continent in an intelligent manner. Kazimiroff Sr., learned to respect the ethics that were taught by Joe Two Trees, and he passed this information on to his son and many others.

> When we allow the new to replace the old to such an extent, we will lose more than an ancient Indian story. Keep in mind that in our rush to meet the future, we must be sure to keep the past. Without its foundation, no structure stands for very long. As the Algonquin fell and was replaced in such a short time, so can we expect to fall unless we read a small lesson in the life that has passed.[7]

Ted Kazimiroff Sr., became a respected member of the environmental community in New York, and "his accomplishments in the fields of landmark preservation and ecology are endless."[8] Kazimiroff Jr., has followed his father in perpetuating a land ethic which relates man to the environment in a personal manner, and contemporarily he writes environmental and natural history articles for publication. Like his father, he disseminates a "message" that is based upon Native American teachings. The Last Algonquin clearly elucidates the dissemination of Native American conservation

practices, the role of scouting groups that were formulated upon those ideals, and the continuing influence of Native American philosophy.

The publication of The Last Algonquin reiterates the Native American contribution to the formation of the outdoor ethic. The text reinforces the popular image of the Native American as conservator. Contemporary popular literature firmly links Native Americans to an ethical interaction with the land. This is certainly not a new "tradition," but it has been continuous and, like the Edward S. Curtis photographs that presently adorn domestic walls and the waiting rooms of private practioneers, it indelibly ties Native Americans to the landscape of the continent. This tie is based upon the Native American perception of the sacredness of the creation.

The Native American as conservator has been treated lightly in elite literature, yet this does not negate the reality of Native American-land relations that were ecologically sound. The use of compatible planting techniques, and slash-burn ecology by Native peoples attests to the feasibility of indigenous land use practices. Native Americans have historically referred to their environmental behaviors as "conservationist" in practice. The definition of conservation can be debated in reference to its use and meaning in American culture and in Native American societies, yet this does not negate the fact that Native people's actions were based on futuristic

concerns for animal populations and the use of natural resources. Chief Standing Bear of the Lakota in Land of the Spotted Eagle clearly identifies Native American conservation practices.

> I know of no species of plant, bird, or animal that were exterminated until the coming of the white man. For some years after the buffalo disappeared there still remained huge herds of antelope, but the hunter's work was no sooner done in the destruction of the buffalo than his attention was attracted toward the deer. They are plentiful now only where protected. The white man considered natural animal life just as he did the natural man life upon this continent, as "pests." Plants which the Indian found beneficial were also "pests." There is no word in the Lakota vocabulary with the English meaning of the word.
>
> There was a great difference in the attitude taken by the Indian and the caucasian toward nature, and this difference made of one a conservationist and of the other a non-conservationist of life. The Indian, as well as all other creatures that were given birth and grew, were sustained by the common mother-earth.[9]

This same theme is commented upon by Wilbur R. Jacobs in Dispossessing the American Indian.

> The Indian's respect for animal life and reverence for the land, when mentioned, are usually dismissed as superstition. On the other hand, the white man, with his Judeo-Christian ethic stressing man's dominance over nature, has no religious scruples about exploiting the wilderness.[10]

The rationale for Native American conservation practices was not "superstition," but rather a spiritually motivated consideration for continued subsistence and well-being. This is clearly pointed out by William Christie Macleod in "Conservation Among Primitive Hunting Peoples."[11]

> Out of such a background of natural limitation of supply, pressure of population on the limited supply, a thorough inventory and intensive exploitation, one might expect that purely economic motives might lead to a conservation of those elements of the supply which experience would show would diminish and tend to disappear if conservation were not applied. However, some of the facts available on the subject suggest that spiritual motives may have played a large part in giving rise to conservation. To primitive man there is a soul in all things animate and (to us) inanimate.[12]

Macleod's article, which was published in 1936, alludes to the role of Native American spirituality as a reason for the ethical relationship between man and natural resources. This is an insightful comment since Macleod did not have the benefit of the recent scholarship of man-animal spiritual ties. Macleod used diverse literary sources on indigenous peoples around the world to substantiate "spiritual motivation" of conservationist practices among "primitive" peoples, and he attributed a high level of sophistication to the environmental practices of Native peoples.

> The hunting and gathering of primitive non-agricultural peoples was not a hit-or-miss random search for plant and animal food and industrial methods.
>
> Dependent upon naturally limited resourses in a limited territory for themselves and their descendants, they took stock of their limited resources. They knew in detail just what the supply of each thing was - wild grasses, berries, roots, animals, trees - and knew where each was to be found when wanted and approximately what quanity.[13]

Macleod adamantly supports the contention that conservation was aboriginal, pre-dating European contact, and proposes the idea that "white influence was breaking down the

native conservation."[14] He does not differentiate between western modes of conservation and indigenous practices, since an intelligent futuristic concern for natural resources is easily recognized in any culture, even though the ideological precursors for those behaviors may differ.

The influence of non-Indian behaviors and environmental actions has clearly influenced Native American conservation strategies. George Reiger, the conservation editor for Field and Stream magazine (and the brother of John F. Reiger, who authored The Passing of the Great West), recently published the "Snows of Autumn," in the September, 1982 edition of Field and Stream.[15] This article describes the changes that have been witnessed in the hunting practices of the Inuit of Baffin Island, and the consequent "waste" of game animals that has accompanied modern technological introductions into Inuit culture. After observing thekilling of five caribou in one day, and two the next day, Reiger comments that the Inuit believe that more caribou will appear in the future.

> And in the sense that the hunters today kill about as many caribou as their fathers did, replacements for these animals seem to spring mysteriously from the earth as the ancients believed. But what modern Inuits do not know, and historicans do, is that the scattered groups of Baffin Island caribou are mere remnants of the great herds that once supported a far larger local Inuit population. Comparatively speaking, a mere handful of hunters presently roam this region, and our killing today was a mere scavenging in the ruins of a once-great hunting tradition diminished by the very technology that made our success possible.[16]

Reiger, after establishing the fact of declining game populations, proceeds to indict the Inuit for non-conservaitonist practices. The Inuit hunters cached much of the meat from the caribou hunt, erected a marker to locate the meat at a later date, and were forced to return to camp because they had thirty miles to travel, most of it in the dark. Before leaving the site of butchering the animals, they scattered remains of the caribou for the foxes and other predators so that they would leave the caches alone. Reiger uses this situation to set up a contention that is supported by local authorities.

> "That's fantasy," says Wayne Spencer, the wildlife officer for the Northwest Territories stationed at Pond Inlet. "Feeding foxes and ravens attract polar bears that dig out quite a number of the caches, and many are never even relocated. The waste of meat is unbelievable. The Inuit aren't subsistence hunting anymore, they're killing caribou to hear their guns go off!"[17]

This manipulated slam of Native hunters is intentional, and unwarranted. Reiger explained the reasons why the meat couldn't be transported and why caches were necessary. The group had to travel thirty miles in the early evening, and negotiate "several rapids and one waterfall in the dark."[18] Yet, even with these valid reasons for caching the meat, Reiger elects to provide the conclusion that this practice was wasteful and the result of joy-killing.

It may have never occurred to Reiger or the enforcement officials that the Inuit hunters perceived of their relationship with the predators as a conscious one. The

predators would know who left the meat, and why it was left, thus ensuring to some degree, the safety of the cache. A mechanistic view of game management and utilization does not come to grips with personal interactions between Native hunters and animal populations. Reiger provides an insightful description which elucidates the role and impact of western perceptions and behaviors upon indigenous man-animal relations.

> The last caribou was towed from the middle of the lake where it had drifted, and as soon as the animal's fur was scraped free of its soggy burden of icy water, Jacob knelt and drank from one of its udders.
>
> This was a familiar act to the old hunter, but Sheatie had not done it before. Yet he was curious and after a few words with Jacob, he, too, knelt and stroked the nutrient-rich milk into his mouth.
>
> The boys laughed and, through shy glances at me, indicated their embarrassment with what their elders were doing. When the animals had been butchered, the boys threw the empty milk gland into the water and stepped down on it to watch it slowly wobble back to the surface, thus demonstrating their naive contempt for the old ways.[19]

Reiger's presence, and his silent reinforcement of the modern world, caused the boys to reject traditional man-animal relations. These young people must internally mediate traditional behaviors with the effects and teachings of the dominant culture. Why have they been taught that the behaviors of their elders are embarrassments? Why have they come to view commonsensical and nutrious actions as contemptuous? These conflicts surfaced due to interaction with non-Inuit culture, and the resulting value judgements that have accompanied that contact:

Native traditions are secondary to western ideals and technology.

This cultural interaciton has also had the effect of passing on adaptations and economic strategies in relation to animal populations. Reiger clearly describes this phenomena when he relates the Inuit hunting of narwhals.

> Finally, ever since the white man has "discovered" narwhal ivory, the hunting of narwhals has lost all sense of ritual.
>
> For many decades the Baffin Inuit abided by an unwritten law that forbade a man from shooting a marine mammal until he had already struck it with a harpoon to which a line and float were attached. In the past, no man boasted of a kill unless he also told how he had stalked so close to his quarry that he did not need his rifle - he had killed the animal with his initial harpoon thrust.
>
> Now that the white men are willing to pay thousands of dollars for a single narwhal tusk, there is no pride in how the animal is captured, only in the fact it's been killed. Furthermore, only the tusk is saved. The rest of the animal, and all those that are killed before they are discovered to lack tusks, are left for the Greenland sharks.
>
> Each year the Canadian government distributes by lottery 100 permits to take narwhals off Pond Inlet. Each year exactly 100 narwhals tusks are exported under these permits. Yet how many hundreds of other narwhals are killed and lost or abandoned because they lack the precious tusk?[20]

Again, the contention is clear. Inuit hunters are engaged in non-conservationist practices. Whether they are or not, is obviously conjecture, since Reiger chooses to support his conclusion of the over-harvest of narwhals by posing a theoretical question. There is little doubt that cultural interaciton between the Inuit and non-native populations and the introduction fo economic markets has undermined traditional hunter-animal relations. Native peoples have

been economically courted,and have responded to provide livelihood for their families and communities. Non-native influences continue to have the effect of breaking down indigenous conservation practices.

Indigenous conservation practices, which were based upon spiritual ties with the environment and animal pop-ualtions, have been under attack by western expansionism for centuries. Native Americans have become unwilling participants in hunting certain species of game, and this is particularly evident in relation to predators.

> The Massachusetts Bay Company put a penny-a-pelt bounty on the wolf in 1630. William Penn bountied the wolf in 1683. South Carolina, in its 1695 "Act for Destroying Beasts of Prey," ordered every Indian bowman to hand over each year either two bobcat skins or the pelt of a wolf, of a panther, or a bear. Laggards were to be "severely" whipped.[21]

The historical hunting of predators, like the contemporary harvesting of narwhals, has been significantly influenced by American civilization.

In the conclusion of "Snows of Autumn," George Reiger squarely places the blame for contemporary "non-conservationist" practices on the shoulders of Native peoples.

> The Inuit are a practical and intelligent people, and I believe that in their new-found leisure they would accept the tenets of conservation if a few of their leaders could be persuaded to serve as examples for a younger generation that is just now looking for values beyond instant gratification.
>
> But we continue to introduce new tools without showing them how to maintain or recycle them, or even how to perpetuate the very game species upon which their profit and recreation - and once their survival - are based. The crime is not in introducing steel

> traps, outboard engines, and snowmobiles, but in not introducing an accompanying code of ethics and self-restraint.[22]

Reiger's conclusion is unwittingly aligned with the interpretation of Native American resource use which disavows western influences upon indigenous conservation practices. These influences have worked to erode traditional Native American resource ethics, and presently, conservationists deem it necessary to "introduce" and reaffirm an ecological code to Native peoples. The irony of this situation is overwhelming. Native peoples, who have assisted in the formation of the contemporary conservation ethic by providing models and examples of an intelligent utilization of natural resources based on a spiritual/philosophical relationship with the environment, are now identified as being devoid of "ethics and self-restraint." Native conservation practices have been systematically undermined by the development of markets for natural resources and the examples provided by generations of American "sportsmen" who lacked an environmental ethic until the first decades of the twentieth century. Yet, Reiger chooses to blame Inuit "deficiency" rather than western ideals for the consequent changes that are being witnessed in traditional Native-animal relations.

Reiger's position is inconsistant with his extreme advocacy on behalf of American wildlife, and his strong concern for ethics in the field, since both of these concerns are imbued with Native American precedents. In a

recent article entitled "The Numbers Game," Reiger pointedly criticized sportsmen and game departments who were overly concerned with perpetuating notions that "bigger is better" in relationship to fishing and hunting harvests.[23] Reiger postulates that this measurement mentality will eventually cause the demise of game species on the continent because the most viable breeding members of wildlife populations will end their lives as "contest" winners, while educational measures related to maintaining species strength are being ignored.

> Thus, I am pessimistic, not only because I believe the quality of our hunting and fishing will continue to deteriorate in its diversity of species and variety of experiences, but because it appears that most hunters and fisherman will accept these declines as inevitable, like fate. They will be glad they got theirs when they did, but they will also be disappointed their children don't always believe their stories of how good things used to be.[24]

This concern for the quality of game animals and the resources of future generations is solidly in line with Native American philosophical dictates. Unfortunately though, George Reiger isn't familiar with the role of Native peoples in shaping the modern conservation ethic. In the past, Field and Stream used Native peoples to provide a credible link with modern conservation practices yet this contribution has eroded with the passage of time.

Contemporary Native American resource utilization practices have been identified as being "inadequate." This erroneous assumption ignores the role of Native

American philosophy/spirituality upon the formation of the modern conservation ethic, and neglects the common-sensical nature of Native American environmental actions. These contributions of Native Americans have been historically perceived and articulated by Ernest Thompson Seton, Charles Alexander Eastman, George Bird Grinnell, Hamlin Garland, Archie Belaney (Grey Owl), Dr. Saxton Pope, Ishi, and others. These men have relied on the adaptation of Native American perceptions of the environment to develop and disseminate an outdoor ethic which relates man to the natural world, and their influence on outdoor organizations, the literature of hunting and nature, and conservation has been ubiquitous and profound. The men who weren't Native Americans among this group of disseminators incorporated new insights and skills into personal philosophies because of contact with indigenous peoples. Erwin H. Ackerknecht described this phenomena in 1944 in the Bulletin of the History of Medicine.[25]

Ackerknecht's research examined the adaptations of eighteenth and nineteenth century children of Anglo-Saxon descent who were abducted by Native Americans. These children were reared in North American Indian groups, and when offered the opportunity to return to the dominant culture, they consciously chose to stay with the respective Native American nations where they resided.[26] Ackerknecht contends that these children became "psychologically, White Indians," and that they were "unanimous in their

praise of the Indian character and of Indian moral."[27] Although George Bird Grinnell, Ernest Thompson Seton, Hamlin Garlin, Dr. Saxton Pope, and Archie Belaney (Grey Owl) never completely adopted Native American customs and life ways to the extent that Ackerknecht's "White Indians," did, they were psychologically attuned to indigenous philosophy/spirituality, and recognized the validity of Native American relations with the land and animals. This identification with Native Americans was responsible for their continued interaction with indigenous peoples, and their use of Native American environmental messages in the formation of the conservation ethic.

In 1921, George Bird Grinnell published "First Families of America," in The Mentor.[28] Grinnell, who was known as "Fisher Hat," among the Piegan Blackfoot, "Bird," to the Cheyenne, called "White Wolf," by the Pawnee, and "Grey Clothes," by the Gros Ventre, clearly describes his impressions of Native American-environmental relations in this ethnographic article which focuses on the indigenous peoples of the Americas.[29]

> The Indian's life was passed in the open air and in close contact with nature. He drew his sustenence from the earth and from wild creatures that lived upon it. He was a part of nature, and better than anything else he knew nature. A close and constantly watchful observer, nothing escaped his eye. He read the signs of the earth and the sky, and the movements of birds and animals, knew what these things meant, and governed his acts by what these signs told him.[30]

Governed actions refers to the concern of Native Americans for the perpetuation of a spiritual interaction with the

environment, and this included the conservation of natural resources when "white influences" weren't breaking down native conservation practices.

Throughout the twentieth century the American Indian has been heralded as a prototype in environmental matters. Even the Department of Interior has seen fit to recognize Native Americans for their contributions to the development of conservation while at the same time working to erode indigenous land holdings and control of resources. In a pamphlet entitled Conservation: The Resources We Guard the Interior Department acknowledges the Native American land ethic, and contributions to modern land use strategies.[31]

> DID YOU KNOW THAT:
>
> The Indians, the original conservationists of the new world, are now being assisted and encouraged in 27 States and Alaska to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before?
>
> More than 1,000 years ago, Indians built irrigation canals in the Southwest and that these canals have been incorporated into modern irrigation projects for both white and Indian lands today, thus increasing the usefulness of the land?[32]

Recently, the Interior Department has been strongly criticized by conservationists for implementing programs which will most likely have adverse effects on the environment and game populations. One critical response which was leveled at the Interior Department is strikingly in line with Native American philosophical perceptions as they relate to the environment. Jay D. Hair, Executive Vice

President of the National Wildlife Federation, issued a rebuttal to statements by Secretary James G. Watt, and in his concluding remarks he stated that "conservationist minded sportsmen do not so much inherit our land from our fathers as we borrow it for a time from our children."[33] This statement, which is analogous to the Native American adherence to the "sacred circle" exemplifies modern conservationist thought which has been significantly influenced by American Indian peoples.

Native American influences in perpetuating a "relatedness" between man and nature can be traced to the interaction of George Bird Grinnell, Ernest Thompson Seton, Charles Alexander Eastman, Hamlin Garland, Archie Belaney (Grey Owl), Dr. Saxton Pope, Tom Brown, Jr., Ted Kazimiroff, Francis "Buck" Burshears, and others with Native American populations. The extensive writings of these men appeared in outdoor magazines, novels, short stories, essays, and skill manuals, and had a tremendous impact on the formation of the "outdoor ethic". This environmental message was derived from Native Americans, and the dissemination of indigenous man-nature relations had a profound effect on scouting organizations, and diverse worldwide populations. The Native American land ethic has become, to a large degree, modern conservation. Although the "message" of Native peoples has been largely usurped by modern conservationists, historical contributions of indigenous peoples to the development of modern land ethics cannot be denied. In some

instances, Native American contributions to the formation of the conservation movement take the most ironic twists.

Recently, the Law Enforcement Division of the Michigan Department of Natural Resources issued a pamphlet entitled, "The Ethical Hunter" (Figure 5).[34] This publication is extremely interesting, because at the same time the Department of Natural Resources issued this pamphlet, they were alleging, as alluded to in the beginning of this text, that Native Americans in the State of Michigan were depleting Great Lakes fish stocks. There is absolutely no doubt that this charge is unfounded,[35] yet while the department was engaged in name-calling and malicious attacks upon Native peoples in Michigan, they deemed it appropriate to utilize and disseminate the popular image of the Native American as conservator (Figure 6).[36] Logic dictates that the State of Michigan cannot allege depletionary practices, while promoting Native Americans as conservationists. In this case, political rhetoric is diminished by fact: Native Americans have made significant contributions to the formation of the contemporary conservation ethic. This has been popularly recognized and supported in the literature, and the dissemination of the Native American influences has impacted generations of sportsmen in North America and Europe.

Native American perceptions of the environment provide valuable insights and strategies for future ecological

Figure 5 - The cover of Michigan Department of Natural Resources pamphlet.

Figure 6 - The rear-cover of Michigan Department of Natural Resources pamphlet

The American Indian was the original ethical hunter on the North American continent. Game was for him a total way of life, and he treasured and husbanded it because his very existence depended upon it. His hunting skill brought not only food but skins for clothing, hides for shelter, sinew for sewing, claws and horn for decoration and an end use for most all of his quarry. The Indian used the total animal but, more than that, he took only what he needed, took it only when he needed it and recognized that his future existence and that of his descendents depended upon a continuing supply of game. He had a reverence for animals that transcended their utility to him. In short, he was a totally ethical hunter, proud of his skill and bound to use it only for a proper objective - survival.

the original ethical hunter

relations. The recognition of man's "sacred" tie to the creation can insure survival for all living beings, and guarantee an intelligent and personal utilization of natural resources. The de-personalization of man-nature interactions must be reversed. The term "spaceship earth" infers that this colossal feminine entity upon which we subsist is Man-made: the product of man's technological "advancement." This earth was not created by the industrious workings of man, and it may change the course of our interdependent future, if we fully realize this simple truth. The earth, the mother of Native peoples, nourishes all her children. The heath hen, the whale, the harp seal, the bison, the passenger pigeon, and the wolf, are, and in some cases were, her children. This great mystery requires little of us in return for santuary and physical support. The mother of all people only asks that we respect the creation, and nothing more. When the circle of life is disturbed, stop and dwell on your actions: This is what Native peoples did for centuries untold. They assessed the impact of their actions on "generations yet unborn" and this insured the continuity of the people. The earth has not forsaken her obligation to man; we must reciprocate in kind.

The growth of the modern conservation ethic in the twentieth century was strongly influenced by the environmental perceptions and beliefs of Native peoples. These attitudes, values and beliefs, constitute a ray of hope

for the future of natural resources and subsequently, the well-being of man. Modern, technological man, must come to grips with the fact that there is a need to personalize a relationship with the environment. All peoples must take a personal responsibility for the future of ecological continuity on this earth. This responsibility cannot be ignored, for the circle of life binds all living beings together.

George Bird Grinnell realized this, as did Ernest Thompson Seton and many others. Their perceptions of the environment were colored by what they had learned about and from Native peoples. Their decision to adopt a similar environmental philosophy was not necessarily a rejection of twentieth century technology and urban life, but rather a commensensical adaptation to what they had witnessed and experienced in their respective lives. The decimation of large mammals on the North American continent was a reality during their lifetime, and it is no wonder that they were influenced by a philosophy which stressed personal interaction with the environment. Their subsequent dissemination of that personal ethic has helped to turn the tide of resource exploitation in the twentieth century.

Historically, this trend has been attacked by conservationists like Grinnell and Seton, who internalized the responsibility to defend this continents natural resources. In the past Native American populations have been forced to lament the demise of game populations and

environmental quality. Hopefully, modern Americans will not become the "Indians" of the twenty-first century. The sacredness of the creation must be defended by all peoples to perpetuate ecological security and to insure future survival. This cooperation of the diverse aspects of American society to accomplish this goal may well be the contribution that Native Americans will make to conservation in the future. Native Amreican perceptions of the environment may have a more profound impact on the future of resource use on this continent than they had on the formation of the present conservation ethic.

Unfortunately though, the contemporary era represents a return to yesteryear, and resources are again becoming endangered or drastically modified. Atlantic Salmon runs are diminishing in northeastern rivers, and genetically inferior stock is providing the brunt of the breeding pool. This has been caused by overharvesting the salmon at sea and contaminated waterways. The personalized environmental ethic seems to be endangered by organizations which do not adhere to individual ethics, and they difuse conservationists practices by group decisions that are concerned more with corporate profit than with the perpetuation of environmental standards for all people.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER VI

[1]Theodore L. Kazimiroff. The Last Algonquin. New York: Walker and Company, 1982.

[2]Ibid. p. 3.

[3]Ibid. p. 3.

[4]Ibid. p. 4.

[5]Ibid. p. 7.

[6]Ibid. p. 8.

[7]Ibid.p. 191.

[8]Ibid. p. XX.

[9]Chief Luther Standing Bear, "The Symbol of Extinction," in Cry of the Thunderbird, edited by Charles Hamilton. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972, p. 214-215.

[10]Wilbur R. Jacobs. Dispossessing the American Indian. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972, p. 20.

[11]William Christie Macleod. "Conservation among Primitive Hunting Peoples," in Scientific Monthly, 1936, p. 562-566.

[12]Ibid. p. 562.

[13]Ibid. p. 562.

[14]Ibid. p. 564.

[15]George Reiger, "Snows of Autumn," in Field and Stream, September, 1982, p. 54, 118-119.

[16]Ibid. p. 54.

[17]Ibid. p. 54.

[18]Ibid. p. 54.

[19]Ibid. p. 118.

[20]Ibid. p. 118.

[21]Thomas B. Allen. Vanishing Wildlife of North America. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1974, p. 16.

[22]Op. Cit. Reiger, p. 119.

[23]George Reiger, "The Numbers Game," in Field and Stream, August, 1982, p. 19-22.

[24]Ibid. p. 22.

[25]Erwin H. Ackerknecht. "White Indians," in Bulletin of the History of Medicine, Vol. XV, 1944.

[26]Ibid. p. 29.

[27]Ibid. p. 27, 30.

[28]George Bird Grinnell, "First Families of America," in The Mentor, Vol. 9 serial number 217, No. 2. New York: March, 1921.

[29]Ibid. p. 40.

[30]Ibid. p. 6-7.

[31]United States Department of the Interior. Conservation: The Resources We Guard. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1940.

[32]Ibid. p. 4.

[33]Jay D. Hair, "Watt Rebuttal," in Field and Stream, March, 1982, p. 4.

[34]Law Enforcement Division, Department of Natural Resources, State of Michigan, Lansing, Michigan, 1981.

[35]Vince Bielski, George Cornell and Richard White, "Indians Only Ask to Keep Their Age-Old Right To Fish," in The Detroit Free Press, July 21, 1980.

[36]Op. Cit., Law Enforcement Division.

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